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THE
EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE,
OUR WEAK POINTS AND OUR STRENGTH,
OCCASIONAL ESSAYS,

BY

J. P. NORRIS, M.A.,

CANON OF BRISTOL, LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND FORMERLY ONE OF H.M. INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS.

“Modò saltèm homines et vires suas atque defectus etiam virium suarum probè et prudenter nôsse velint ; atque alii ab aliis inventionis lampada, non contradictionis torres, accipiant.”—BACON, *De Augm. Scient.*

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE following chapters contain the substance of papers written from time to time for special purposes on subjects connected with Education. They pretend to no completeness. Their only merit, if any, is, that they convey the fresh impressions of one who was daily occupied in the examination of school-children.

I was appointed to an inspectorship of schools in 1849, and resigned it in 1864. Five years of comparative leisure have since given me the opportunity, not only of "taking stock," as it were, of my fifteen years' experience as an inspector, but also of testing some of my conclusions in the care of a country parish. A brief summary of these conclusions will form, perhaps, the best preface to this volume.

Let me first speak of the education of the children of "the independent poor"—to adopt the phrase of the Royal Commissioners of 1861—as distinguished from the "pauper and vagrant" children on the one side, and from the children of the "middle class" on the other side—both of these latter classes requiring separate treatment. As regards these children, then, living in fixed homes, my conclusions are mainly the following:—

1. If our purpose be, not merely to teach certain arts of reading, writing, and ciphering, but also to civilise children by wholesome training, the success of our school system, whatever that system be, will depend on the character of the teachers.

If kindly, God-fearing teachers be chosen, the schools will win the confidence of the parents and prosper. If teachers of another sort come to be appointed, the schools will fail, however perfect in other respects be their organisation.

2. Religious men and women will not, in our country, and in that class from which our teachers must be drawn, seek the office of teaching, unless direct religious instruction be included in their work. If direct religious instruction cease to enter into the daily routine, the character of our teachers will be altered for the worse. Therefore, without going into the question whether the *children* might not get a sufficient amount of religious instruction from their parents and Sunday-schools, I am persuaded that the day-school *teachers* would be deteriorated by being relieved from responsibility for this portion of the instruction.

3. For this, and for other reasons, it is very certain that schools which had not a distinctly religious character would not command the confidence of the parents. In the words of the French Minister of Instruction of 1833, "By substituting in schools what is called civil morality for morality based on religion, we should not only be guilty of a great fault towards the youthful population, but should excite most formidable resistance; we should render primary education an object of suspicion, perhaps of antipathy, to a multitude of parents."*

In America, Mr Fraser reports "a growing feeling that more distinctly religious teaching is required; and that even the interests of morality are imperfectly attended to."† In 1857, I spent some months in the south of France. I found the Christian Brothers very generally supplanting the Government teachers in the charge of the schools; and I was everywhere

* *Projet de Loi sur l'Instruction primaire.* 1833.

† Report to the "Schools' Inquiry Commission" on the Common School System of the United States. 1867.

told that the change was due to the strong feeling of the *parents*, unwilling to trust their young children to secular teachers. M. Guizot's prophecy was being fulfilled. Much more would this be the case in England and Scotland.

4. The distinctly religious character of our schools can only be preserved by what is called the "Denominational System;" *i.e.*, by connecting our schools with the *congregation*. Before the creation of the Education Department in 1839, it had come to be a "cardinal idea that the school was an inseparable element of the organisation of a Christian congregation."* The government of that day most wisely adopted this constitution of the day-school which had thus taken root and grown up amongst us. But by its action in subsidising the school of the congregation, the government developed a new idea, which has come to be equally cardinal, *viz.*, that the Nation also has an interest in the school.

5. For twenty-five years these two ideas have been jostling each other; the school managers struggling to preserve the *congregational* character of their schools, the State trying more and more to *nationalise* them. The denominations stipulate that the distinctive religious character of their schools shall be retained; the State requires that the whole population be provided for, and contends that strictly denominational schools can no more cover the area of a population than sixpenny pieces can cover the area of a table,—in other words, that minorities too small to have a school of their own are left unprovided for. The result ought to be, and must be, a compromise. And this compromise is to be found in what is called a *conscience clause*. The true principle of a conscience clause was admirably phrased by Mr Gladstone a few months ago: "Perfect liberty of religious instruction to the teacher; perfect liberty of withdrawing his child from that instruction to the

* Sir James K. Shuttleworth, "Four Periods of Public Education," p. 440.

parent." It was because the Education Department pressed for more than this, and seemed inclined to guarantee the child's liberty by infringing the teacher's liberty, that the conscience clause was so strongly opposed, not only by extreme men, but by many also of the more moderate clergy.*

6. But if the "religious difficulty" involved in a continuance of the denominational system be thus obviated by a conscience clause, there remains another difficulty—its *precariousness*. The denominational system is necessarily a voluntary system; and schools that depend in any large measure on voluntary support, must ever be of precarious efficiency; and can never, therefore, (it is contended,) form the basis of a truly national system of education. Let us see, then, how far we may hope so to recruit and reinvigorate *the voluntary system* as to make it a proper basis for a national education. My belief is that this may be done *by giving the parents a more direct personal interest in the affairs of the school of their parish*. Why have they hitherto taken so little interest in it, careless about their children's attendance, murmuring at its discipline, grudging the school fee, and often preferring to pay a much higher fee to some inferior private adventurer? Chiefly, I am persuaded, because they have been hitherto excluded altogether from a share in the school management.

The parish school is the successor of the old "Charity School;" the associations of the old "Charity School" still hang around it; and these associations the better sort of parents do not like. The school is not an institution belonging to their own class. It is provided for them by the gentlefolk; they have no voice in its management. The teacher and

* The letters printed in the Appendix to this volume will make my meaning more clear. The modification of the conscience clause therein advocated was adopted in the Duke of Marlborough's Education Bill of the last session, and has, I believe, won the approval of most of the bishops and clergy.

managers require from the parents, just as much as from their children, implicit obedience to all their rules. If there is anything in the working of these rules which they dislike or misunderstand, the only way in which they can express their disapproval is by withdrawing their children; and this they are continually doing, to show their "independence," to the great detriment of the school, and to the great hindrance of their children's education.

I am persuaded, that the time has come for giving the parents a direct share in the control of our schools, by admitting them into our school constituencies. And this may be done in the simplest possible way. In the trust-deeds of nearly all our schools there is now a clause, providing that the committee of managers shall be elected by contributors of ten shillings, at least, in the current year, to the funds of the school, each contributor "being entitled to give one vote in respect of each such sum of ten shillings." The clause also provides, that the persons eligible as school managers shall be contributors of at least twenty shillings.

If it were ruled that the word "*contribution*," in these trust-deeds, should be understood to include *contribution in school fees*, (provided these school fees were paid quarterly in advance,) numbers of parents would be at once taken into our school constituencies; and any parent who chose to pay 5s. a quarter for one, or 2s. 6d. each for two children,* would be eligible to serve on the school committee. Thus, without any new law, by a simple instruction of the Charity Commissioners, to be explained by Her Majesty's Inspectors, a new character would be at once given to the constitution of our schools. Those who are now responsible for raising funds for the school would have a direct interest in giving effect to the change; for where

* The average amount of the school fees in schools under inspection, averaged, in 1866, 8s. 6d. a-head per annum.

a considerable proportion of the parents were brought to avail themselves of the privilege, the income arising from fees would be thereby largely* increased.

7. But far beyond any pecuniary advantage, would be the accession of moral strength which the school would thus receive. The parents would begin to regard it as an institution belonging to themselves in a great measure. Hitherto, they have felt that it is the parson, or the squire, or the mill-owner, that is inviting them to send their children to *his* school. If they send them to one school rather than to another, they have a notion that they are in some way "obliging" the managers of that school. Their attachment to a school in whose administration they have no concern is proportionately loose; and hence much of the evils complained of—apathy, want of co-operation with the teachers, irregular attendance, removal of their children for the most frivolous reasons.

✓ In the early years of my inspectorship, I laboured to induce the school managers of my district to take the parents more into their counsels, and give them some share in the school management.

In my report for the year 1851, I called attention to the benefits that might be expected from their co-operation :—

“Of all the hindrances that thwart teachers in their efforts to renderschools more efficient, and of all the difficulties that beset managers in providing resources for their support, the greatest and most universally complained of is, *the want of co-operation on the part of the children's parents*. I have asked nearly every schoolmaster in my district this question, ‘What has been your greatest difficulty in the conduct of this school?’ and the answer has been, almost without exception, ‘The indifference of the parents.’ Apathy, irregularity of attendance, the early age at which they leave,—all the characteristic evils of our schools,—are traceable, in a great measure, to

* Besides inducing parents to pay a slightly higher rate of fee, the payment *in advance* would save what is now lost by irregularity of payment.

this one source. Again, I have often asked clergymen, whom I may have found defraying a great part of their school expenses out of very limited incomes, and raising money for the rest solely by their own unwearied exertions, 'What prospect is there of this school becoming in a greater degree self-supporting?' And in four cases out of five the answer has been, 'If we could only teach the parents to value the education offered to them, it might become so, or nearly so, to-morrow.' Of two things I am convinced: (1.) that *without* parental co-operation, no endowments, no rate, no affluence of school provision will really advance education; and (2.) that *with* parental co-operation, our schools, after being once fairly started, might be in a great measure independent of any such extraneous resources. The first of these propositions hardly needs comment or support. Money will do much; but it clearly will not in itself make a good school. It may build the fabric, furnish it with all possible appliances, and command the services of the best teachers; but it cannot fill the school with children, or secure their regular attendance, or retain them to an advanced age, without the concurrence of the parents. Unless the Legislature convert our day-schools into boarding-schools, and compel the children into them, (which will hardly be in England,) we cannot make ourselves independent of the parents' co-operation; nor indeed is it desirable. That the parents ought to feel responsible for their children's education is allowed by all. That the State, or the clergy, or a society, or a patron, should take it out of their hands, and do it for them, is clearly a second best expedient, an argument that something is wrong, a concession to conditions (real or supposed) which we must all deplore. Earnest men have ever felt this. Dr Chalmers, —perhaps one of the greatest authorities that I could cite on the subject—writes:—'The only way of thoroughly incorporating the education of the young with the habit of families, is to make it form a part of the family expenditure, and thus to make the interest, and the watchfulness, and the jealousy of the parents, so many guarantees for the diligence of the children; and for these reasons do we hold the establishment of free schools in a country to be a frail and impolitic expedient.' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 101.)"

In my Report for the year 1853, I called attention to the

* Minutes of Committee of Council on Education, 1851-52, p. 724.

success which had attended an effort made by a clergyman in Staffordshire thus to associate some of the parents with himself in the management of the school. A few years later, I tried the experiment myself with the best results, gaining thereby a ready acquiescence in a proposal to double the school fees. Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, who has probably done more than any other living man to advance the cause of popular education, has repeatedly recommended this admission of parents to a share in school management. So did Dr Temple in the ✓ “Oxford Essays” of 1856.

But the time was not then ripe for any such popular extension of the basis on which our schools rest. In the last few years a *political* interest in popular education has been awakened in these classes which had little or no existence sixteen years ago. Their recent admission to the Parliamentary Franchise will greatly quicken this interest. Surely the time has come to admit them freely to the electoral franchise of our national schools.

Thus in two ways—both financially and constitutionally—the voluntary system would be reinvigorated by such an extension of the basis on which it rests.

Constitutionally, the school committee, (elected by the parents as well as subscribers, and recruited by a few representative parents,) would cease to be the unreal thing it often now is. The recipients of the Government grant would no longer be (as now) the clergyman and one or two charitable members of his congregation, but an organic body more directly representing those for whose good the public money is voted.

Financially, the schools would in a far larger measure than heretofore become self-supporting.

8. This last position may seem to require further proof. But the proof is at once forthcoming. A large class of schools in my old district in which regularity of attendance and punctuality of payment were assured by law—I allude to the

schools attended by *half-timers* under the Factory Acts—became, as a matter of fact, to a great extent self-supporting. ✓

One-third of the school income was met by the Government grant, and the remaining two-thirds almost covered by the school pence. If the same regularity of attendance could be made the rule in our rural districts, where the schools are of a less expensive kind, one-half the school income might certainly be realised by the parents' payments.

The expense of a school in country districts never need exceed 25s. a head, (except in very small schools which are costly luxuries,) 20s. in salaries, 5s. in other expenses. Of this 25s., the Government grant at the present rate ought to realise 10s., and the school fees, (if the attendance were full and regular,) another 10s., leaving the school dependent on voluntary subscriptions *to the amount of one-fifth* of its income only.* If it be urged that 10s. a-head is too much to expect from the poorer class of parents, I have three answers:— ✓

First, that, as I said at the beginning of this chapter, I am only considering the class of independent labourers, leaving the pauper, quasi-pauper, and vagrant classes for separate treatment.

Second, that there is nothing to prevent charitable people or trustees of charitable funds from helping orphans, widows, or parents of very large families in the matter of their school payments.

And thirdly, that I propose to give the poor parent a direct pecuniary interest in the schooling of his child.

This last proposal I will explain in the following section.

9. The time is ripe, I am persuaded, for rendering the principle of the Factory Acts—the principle, that is, of *indirect* compulsion—of making some amount of schooling a condition ✓ of wage labour—co-extensive with our labouring population.

* See the specimen Balance Sheets under the Revised Code at p. 53, 54. The actual average expenditure of *aided* schools in 1867 was £1, 6s. 8d. a-head, of which 8s. 6d. was met by the grant, 8s. 6d. by school-fees, 9s. 8d. by subscriptions.

How this may best be done will be discussed in the following chapter. Suffice it here to say that if inspection of primary schools were made universal, as it ought to be, it would involve the inspectors in but little additional trouble to give every child who passed his or her examination in the 4th Standard * of the Revised Code a certificate to that effect. This certificate would be to the young English labourer what his *livret* † is to the French workman. I would make it penal to employ any boy or girl under a given age (say 15) in hired labour of any kind without it. Such a law, well worked, would do more than anything else to teach our independent labourers to reckon some amount of schooling for their children among the *necessities* of life.

10. Alongside of any such enactment, making education a universal condition of juvenile employment, common justice would require two things: (1.) that decently good schools should be everywhere accessible; (2.) that, while the wage-earning boy or girl is thus brought within the restraint of law, the idler be not allowed to go free.

And, *first*, our bad schools must be improved, and our blank places (if any such be still left) must be supplied with schools. What I have seen done in a hundred neglected parishes, by the simple process of sending into them a public inspector, who was also something of a propagandist, convinces me that

* Fluent reading, writing from dictation on paper, and easy money sums.

† This *livret* is a small book issued by the Prefecture in Paris, or by the mayors in the departments. On the first page is set forth a full personal description of the recipient, together with his name, age, birthplace, and condition of life; the remaining pages contain blank forms to be filled up by the people in whose service he is employed. It is a penal offence punishable by a fine of 500f. for a first offence, and 1000f. for a second, to engage any servant, workman, or workwoman, unprovided with a book of this kind; and the master is furthermore bound under penalties to fill up the blank forms in the book, stating the day upon which the man or woman entered his service, and the day on which he or she left it.

much, if not all, that is needed to complete the network of schools all over the country, might be accomplished by our present system of voluntary effort and liberal building grants, if only inspection were made universal. And when I speak of inspection being universal, I mean not only that all existing schools should be visited, but that every parish should be visited and reported on. If all places where schools were wanting or manifestly insufficient, were reported to a Minister of Instruction, and, through him, to the Lord-Lieutenant or Chairman of Quarter Sessions of the county, and also (at the discretion of the Minister) to the Bishop of the Diocese, my belief is that the blanks would be rapidly filled up, and all our schools brought up to a decent level. At all events, it seems to me mere folly to import into our country a new-fangled rate system, which must, as it spreads, inevitably dry up and kill for ever the voluntary system, until we have fairly tried whether the old system may not be thus stimulated into completing its work. My tenth conclusion, then, is this, that if inspection were made universal, and building grants increased, if need be, for a few years, to the old rate of 4s. per square foot, with ✓
£100 for teacher's residence, (*i.e.*, to nearly half the cost of a plain building,) the country would be speedily covered with ✓
an adequate amount of schools.

11. One other thing must in justice go along with any such universal extension of the principle of the Factory Acts. While we *require* the education of the wage-earning child, we must not let the idler escape us, else it might be said that the law was offering a premium to idleness. But here I take leave of the class of which I have been thus far exclusively speaking—the independent, industrious poor—and come to the class below them—the quasi-pauper and vagrant class, whose children, as I said, need separate treatment.

Now, able-bodied children, who have been allowed to grow

up to twelve or fourteen years of age, without the very moderate amount of schooling that would procure for them their *livret* or certificate for employment, are in no good way, and may surely without unfairness be considered to belong to the vagrant class. As such, I would commit them to Certified Industrial Schools, under Mr Adderley's Act, (20 and 21 Vict., c. 48,) which would need amendment in one or two of its provisions. Lest the offer of board and lodging at such a school should seem to be a premium on parental neglect, I would have no children so committed until their fourteenth year, *i.e.*, until they have reached an age at which their services begin to be pecuniarily valuable to their parents ; and then only for such a period as shall suffice to give them that elementary amount of schooling required for the employment ticket ; and, wherever practicable, I would enforce the clause, (sec. 15,) which recovers 3s. a-week from the parent for the child's maintenance. As to the children of quasi-pauper parents, their case would be met by making Mr Evelyn Denison's Act (18 and 19 Vict., c. 34) *compulsory*. This Act enables the guardians, *if they deem proper*, to pay out of the poor-rate for the schooling of the children of any out-door pauper. The Royal Commissioners of 1861 recommended that this Act should be made compulsory, and that such schooling be made a condition of out-door relief. The amendment of these two Acts would provide a system of *direct* compulsion for the children of the vagrant and pauper classes ; and such a system seems to be the just and necessary supplement of the system of *indirect* compulsion, which I am recommending for the children of the independent labourers.

12. Thus for pauper, and vagrant, and homeless children, we should have a *compulsory* system of education supported out of our poor rate, borough rate, or county rate. Relieved of these, the schools for the independent labouring classes might safely be left to the *voluntary system*, subsidised, as at present,

by Government grants, and reinvigorated in the two ways that I have indicated—viz., (1.) by the admission of the parents to a share in the school management; and (2.) by extending to the whole country the wholesome principle of making some amount of schooling a legal condition of juvenile employment.

13. But when all this is done, something will yet be wanting to relieve the dead level of primary instruction, and to impart to it that element of generous emulation without which no system of education can have life and vigour. It was with this view that the Staffordshire and Shropshire Prize schemes were instituted seventeen years ago, and to a certain extent they have supplied what is needed. About £500 have been annually subscribed by the iron and coal masters and manufacturers of those counties, and given in prizes after competitive examination. Some general rules for the administration of such prize schemes will be found in chapter vii. But while I watched the operation of these prize schemes with very great satisfaction, I was all along aware that, for boys at anyrate, a far better form of prize would be an exhibition to some school of higher instruction. What I saw of the foreign systems of *technical instruction*, as a juror at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, quickened and helped to give shape to this desire. Chapter viii. of this volume was written on my return. Since then Mr Whitworth's noble endowments, it may well be hoped, have given a fresh impulse to the efforts of the Government to organise a complete system of instruction in applied science for our own country. The commercial importance of this is confessed on all hands. The moral effect of thus *opening a career* to the more intelligent of our scholars, will, I am persuaded, in its reaction on the primary school, be no less valuable.

14. For the *daughters* of our labouring class a unique type of school has grown up in England under the fostering influences of the wives and daughters of our clergy, and landed proprietors,

and master manufacturers—half intellectual, half industrial—which really leaves nothing to be desired. Neither the Continent of Europe nor the United States of America can show schools for girls at all comparable to the better sort of English girls' schools; so thoroughly domestic in their character, so wholesome in their moral influence, so felicitously adapted to the best instincts of our home-loving people. We owe these schools, be it remembered, to the voluntary system. Any uniform, municipal, rate-supported system would be fatal to them; and their loss would be irreparable. Of course, in small parishes mixed schools must be a necessity; but I am more than ever persuaded that the *separate* girls' school is best, not only for the sake of the industrial training, but morally. I frequently insisted on this in my annual Reports:—"It appears to me that girls' schools have a great advantage over boys' schools in the fact that nearly half the day is spent in industrial work. Independently of the practical value of skill in needlework, it would be well worth while, for the sake of the effect on the girls' characters, to occupy half their time at school in this way. No one can have marked the quiet, domestic aspect of one of our better girls' schools when arranged for needlework, the scrupulous cleanliness which their work necessitates, the continual interchange of kindly offices, and that most wholesome union, which a boys' school seldom presents, of industry with repose, of a cheerful relaxation of mind, with the most careful and decorous order, without seeing at once that it is here rather than during the morning lessons that the character of the future woman is formed. When we add to these considerations the paramount importance of skill in needlework, picturing to ourselves the contrast that a few short years will show between the slattern, in her cheap tawdry shop finery, and the white-aproned tidy housewife, with her knitting in her hands, or a shirt for her husband in her lap, we shall, I think, be more

than ever anxious that this most valuable department of school-work should not be neglected. It has often occurred to me that one serious objection to mixed schools is the great probability of the needlework being slighted. The girls thus brought into competition with the boys regret the time spent away from their books. And, besides, the afternoon sempstress will appear to disadvantage when compared with the more intellectual morning teacher ; her authority will come to be slighted, and the discipline will be impaired. I have often found that in these schools the girls get a notion that the needlework is of little or no consequence, and with few exceptions all the schools that produce the best needlewomen in my district are separate girls' schools." (*Report for 1855.*) In chapter ix. of this volume some further remarks will be found on the subject of girls' industrial training. The point I wish here to insist on is, that all hope of further progress in this direction depends on the continuance of our present type of English Girls' School.

15. I come, lastly, to the subject of middle class education. But this subject seems to be exhausted by the recent Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission. For a few years, I undertook the occasional inspection of middle class schools for the University of Cambridge. The results of this brief experience were laid before the Commissioners, and will be found embodied in chapter xi. of this volume. In this matter we have little to learn from foreign countries. As with primary, so with secondary schools, our hope lies in reforming what is indigenous, rather than in importing what is foreign to the genius of our people.

We may be deeply thankful that, in our country, what may be called the *parental* view of education has ever taken a stronger hold of the national conscience than the *civil* or *political*. The *home* is to our nation what the cell is to the plant—the essential element of its organisation. Beyond all things,

let our schools possess the confidence of the homes from which they draw. The more civilised the homes, the less need the Government interfere with the education of the children. As we ascend through the several gradations of schools, the control of the State should become less and less. This has been the governing thought of the preceding pages.

In dealing with the lowest stratum of the population, I would have compulsory education, pure and simple, and supported by rates, the State being *in loco parentis*. In the next stratum the Privy Council system seems to hit the happy mean between central control and voluntary local effort. In the middle schools, the Government has little to contribute except the utilisation of existing endowments. In the higher schools, emancipation from antiquated statutes, and absolute liberty to follow the laws of supply and demand, is all that is desirable.

Following this order, I will briefly indicate, in conclusion, the reforms that seem to me needed :—

1. The amendment of the Industrial Schools' Act, and of Mr Evelyn Denison's Act, and the entire separation of the Parochial Union Schools from the workhouse.
2. The creation of a Ministry of Instruction, with authority to institute an exhaustive inspection of the educational resources and necessities of the country, so far as the labouring classes are concerned.
3. The enforcement of a wisely-considered conscience clause in *all* primary schools receiving Government aid.
4. The representation of the parents on the school committee.
5. The extension to the whole country of the principle of requiring some amount of schooling as a legal condition of the hiring of young people.
6. A development of the means of technical instruction under the auspices of the Science and Art Department.
7. An extension of the powers of the Charity Commission.

CHAPTER II.

HOW FAR NATIONAL EDUCATION SHOULD BE COMPULSORY.

WHEN we speak of the "Compulsory System," as applied to Education, the phrase is equivocal. It may be used as the opposite of the "Voluntary System," meaning a system under which the State compels certain persons to establish and maintain schools, by rates or otherwise, for the benefit of the poor of their neighbourhood ; or, it may mean a system under which parents are compelled under pain of fine or the like to send their children to school. Both these systems of compulsion have their advocates. It is with the second of the two that this chapter will chiefly deal. But as the two are closely connected, I may be permitted, perhaps, to say a few words first on the compulsory, as opposed to the voluntary system of school maintenance.

The progress of England, in respect of popular education during the last twenty years, may be thus briefly described. Twenty years ago numbers of parishes were without day-schools ; and of the schools that existed only a few were under any public supervision. It may now be said that schools of some sort are within reach of all, and that one-half of them have been brought under inspection, and raised to a fairly satisfactory condition both as to buildings and as to efficiency. If it be asked how this great change has been effected, the answer is obvious. Public opinion has been more and more brought to bear on the subject, finding expression in a system of State subsidies, greatly improving the schools of those parishes that

have availed themselves of aid, and shaming the rest into having a school of some sort to show for their children. That one-half of our parishes are still content with miserably inefficient schools is simply due to the extreme caution with which the State has proceeded. It may be confidently asserted that public opinion is now ripe for completing the work so well begun, and pushing our admirable system of inspection into all the parishes of the land. If daylight were thus let into all our dark places, if all schools were brought under the wholesome stimulus of publicity, the improvement already effected in one-half of them would soon be forthcoming in all ; and that without any other resources than those furnished by the Voluntary System supplemented by Government grants. "Where there's a will there's a way" has been unmistakably true in the matter of schools ; and to create the will mere publicity is sufficient. If complete reports of the educational condition of all the parishes in the country were annually published under the authority of a minister of public instruction, our landed proprietors, and congregations, and municipal bodies would soon bring up all our parishes to a fair level in respect of school accommodation. England has now a better and more abundant supply of trained teachers than any country in Europe, thanks to the twenty years' operation of the pupil teacher system. Whenever there is an opening for a teacher, a very competent teacher may now be found to fill it. This was far from being the case twenty years ago. I say then that for getting schools established in adequate numbers all over the country we need not yet despair of the Voluntary System. The work is so nearly accomplished that we may well rely on Inspection and Government grants for filling up all the remaining blanks.*

* I assume that in *all* schools a *conscience clause* (giving perfect liberty of instruction to the teacher and perfect liberty of withdrawal to the parent) should

But, the schools being established, two yet more important questions remain—how are we to maintain them financially, and how are we to fill them with children? These are the two questions which of late years have been principally occupying our legislators. To meet the first, several schemes for local school-rates have been brought forward, but all unsuccessfully. To meet the second, many people desire that attendance at school should be made compulsory.

My belief is, that if we can only succeed in solving this second problem—how to get our schools filled with children—we may safely let alone that first problem—how to get them supported. Let me try in a few words to justify this belief.

The present system of annual grants secures to a fairly good school one-third of its annual cost, and the school pence another third. Both these amounts might be increased. For the remainder it is no hardship, but rather a most desirable necessity, to depend on voluntary local subscriptions. This last element of a school's income it is which really determines the question of its government. The school subscriptions keep alive in its neighbourhood an interest in its welfare, and place the control of its affairs in the best possible hands—a committee of the most benevolent people of the place.* I say, therefore, that dependence on the Voluntary System within these very moderate limits—to the extent, say, of one-fourth of the school income—is not an evil but a benefit. The reason why so many are despairing of the Voluntary System, and wishing to supplant it by a system of local rates, is that practically we are depending on it for one-half and often more than one-half of the school expenditure, and this is

be inserted in the Trusts. This is clearly necessary to give Denominational schools that national character which the public requires. (See p. 4, note.)

* In the School Committee I would gladly see a few of the parents included. (See p. 5.)

a strain it will not bear. So people tired of begging are crying out for the comfortable security of a rate. The far better remedy is to increase the fund arising from school fees ; and to do this we need not increase the amount paid per child, but only secure a fuller and more regular attendance of children. Thus the problem of school maintenance resolves itself into the problem of school attendance. If the Legislature can only get the schools well filled, they may, as I said, safely leave their finances on their present footing.

I have purposely approached the question of "*Compulsory Attendance*" from this point of view—in its connexion, namely, with the financial question—because it leads at once to the answer which I believe the practical sense of England will give to it. We can afterwards approach it from two other distinct points of view ; and if all three approaches seem to lead up to one and the same solution, this solution may be accepted safely as the best.

Compulsory attendance may be of two kinds, *direct* and *indirect*. A law of direct compulsion, pure and simple, may be found in Prussia and in the New England States of America. Any parent neglecting to send his child to school is to be fined or imprisoned. In Prussia "registers of children within the school age (6-14) are kept by the police, and periodically compared by boards appointed for that purpose with the school registers of attendance, and non-attendance is punishable by fine or imprisonment of the parent." (*Report of the Commissioners of 1861*, vol. i. p. 192.)

In Massachusetts "Every person having under his control a child between the ages of eight and fourteen years, shall annually send such child to some public school at least 12 weeks, 6 weeks of such time being consecutive; and for every neglect of such duty (to be reported by the Truant Officers) the party

offending shall forfeit a sum not exceeding twenty dollars." (*Mr Fraser's Report to the Schools Inquiry Commission*, 1867, p. 26.)

It need hardly be said that the requirement of school fees cannot co-exist with such direct compulsion. "Rate-bills, as they are called in America—school fees as we call them in England—do not appear to be permissible under the law of Massachusetts." (*Ib.*, p. 22.) "Compulsory attendance is the co-relative of *free schools*." (*Ib.* p. 39.)

Briefly, then, a system of direct compulsion involves necessarily the American system of local rating ; and as local rating and voluntary subscriptions could not co-exist—the one killing the other necessarily—it would revolutionise not only the financial system, but also with it the management of our schools. For this revolution in the constitution of our schools England is by no means prepared.

Regarded from this *first* point of view, therefore, *direct compulsion* seems to be most objectionable.

Let us, in the second place, regard it from another point of view—from the labourer's cottage. When I hear politicians invoking a system of compulsory education as the panacea of all our social evils, I often wish I could take them into one of our poor village homes, and let them there try to work out their plan for a single week. Go into any one of those cottages where there are two or three children between the ages of nine and twelve. They are returned in my political friend's statistics as "idle," being "neither at school nor at work." But what is the fact? They are as indispensable to the home life of that cottage as if they were earning three or four shillings a week. One is going errands—most necessary errands—with the father's meals, to the apothecary three miles off, to the village shop. Another collects half the fuel they use, or acorns for the pig, or manure for the garden. A third, and all in their

turn, "mind the house," "mind the fire," "mind the baby," while the mother is out. We must think twice or thrice before we roughly try to apply compulsory school attendance to such a home as that. To require those parents to give up their children's services would be simply tantamount to requiring them to keep a servant girl at a cost of 2s. 6d. a-week out of an income of 12s. a-week.

With a profoundly true insight into the real conditions of the problem did the Prince Consort in 1857 thus speak of it:—"What measures can be brought to bear upon this evil (of non-attendance at school) is a most delicate question, and will require the nicest handling, for there you cut into the very quick of the working man's condition. His children are not only his offspring, to be reared for a future independent position, but they constitute part of his productive power, and work with him for the staff of life. The daughters especially are the handmaids of the house, the assistants of the mother, the nurses of the younger children, the aged and the sick. To deprive the labouring family of their help would be almost to paralyse its domestic existence."

Regarded, then, from this second point of view—from what may be called the home point of view—direct compulsion would in numberless cases be an intolerable hardship.

But there is a third aspect of the matter which a practical legislator would do well to consider. There are some delightfully simple people, who seem to attribute to an Act of Parliament a kind of self-enforcing virtue of its own, imagining that when once Queen, Lords, and Commons have said such and such a practice shall be illegal, that practice *ipso facto* ceases through the length and breadth of the land. Is drunkenness a great social evil? "Forbid it by Act of Parliament." So they did in the State of Maine, and what is the practical effect? Simply that when one thirsty soul invites another thirsty soul

to a glass of gin, instead of saying, "Will you take a drink?" they have adopted the phrase, "Will you break the law with me?" (*Mr Fraser's Report*, p. 39.) So it is with a compulsory school law. Where people are inclined to obey it, it is obeyed; where they are disinclined, the law is a dead letter. Such is the gist of Mr Fraser's "Report on America," and of Mr Pattison's "Report on Prussia." Listen to the former summing up his remarks on the compulsory law of Massachusetts, (p. 38,) "The law, as will be observed, is emphatic enough, but I believe that its provisions are nearly, if not quite, inoperative. Public sentiment, so omnipotent in America, is not with it, and it stands, therefore, almost a dead letter on the statute book."

Mr Fraser also reports that in New York city there is a department of the police force, specially charged with the duty of looking after truants, called "Truant Officers." But they are only seven in number, "and quite unable to contend with the mass of truancy and absenteeism that is asserted to exist in that city." (P. 38, note.) In Prussia, Mr Pattison reported, that though education might be said to be universal, it would be the greatest mistake to suppose that this is due to the compulsory law. "Though non-attendance is punishable by fine and imprisonment of the parent, these regulations are practically unimportant, because they are rarely called into operation." "The schooling is compulsory only in name; the school has taken so deep a root in the social habit of the German people, that were the law repealed to-morrow, no one doubts that the schools would continue as full as they are now." (*Report of 1861*, p. 192.) On which the Commissioners remark—"It is thus obvious that the present state of education in Prussia illustrates the results of a compulsory system, which, having been established under a state of society altogether unlike our own, has lasted long enough to have become super-

fluous. It proves nothing as to the effects of introducing legal compulsion into a nation previously unaccustomed to it." If we turn to Switzerland, we find Mr Arnold reporting that in the Canton Vaud, where the law is most stringent, his inquiries led him to doubt whether the law is ever "really executed at all;" and his conclusion is, that though primary instruction is most prosperous in the Canton Vaud, "the making it compulsory by law has not added one iota to its prosperity. Its prosperity is due to the general comfort and intelligence of the population. Where these are equally present, as in Geneva, the prosperity of education is equal, though there is no compulsion; where these fail, the compulsion of the law is powerless to prevent the inevitable check inflicted on education by their absence." (P. 195.)

In England, with a large class of our population really struggling for subsistence, and with our habit of almost absolute domestic liberty, it may be accepted as certain that the Duke of Newcastle's Commissioners were right in their conclusion that "the Government would not be seconded by public opinion in instituting and maintaining the minute system of supervision, registration, detection of defaulters, and enforcement of penalties, which would be requisite in order to carry into effect a general system of compulsory education."

Horace sums it up, "*Quid leges, sine moribus vanæ, proficunt?*" Legislation is useless unless the popular conscience go with it. And in England, alas! that "*Magnum pauperies opprobrium*" sadly dulls the conscience in the matter of children's schooling—" *Virtutisque viam deserit arduæ.*"

Thus approaching the question of direct compulsion from three several points of view, we are led to conclude—

1. From the school point of view, that it would necessitate an entire revolution in the constitution of our schools.

2. From the parent's point of view, that it would involve a great amount of hardship on the families of our labourers.
3. From the legislative point of view, that the feeling of the country not going with it, such a law would be practically *inoperative*.

If this be so, if a system of direct compulsion would be (1.) incompatible with our existing system of school management, (2.) would be oppressive to poor parents, and (3.) would be ineffectual in remedying the evil it was intended to cure, it is tolerably certain that the practical sense of the nation will reject any such legislative experiment.

Direct compulsion being out of the question, a system of *indirect* compulsion remains to be considered. By *indirect* compulsion is meant the plan of making a certain amount of schooling a condition of employment for hire up to a certain age. In recommendation of this system three things may be said :—

- 1st. It has been tried and found practicable in our manufacturing districts.
- 2d. It has there had a considerable effect in promoting education.
- 3d. It is capable of indefinite improvement and extension.

A series of Acts of Parliament during the last quarter of a century, beginning with the Factory Acts of 1833 and 1844, and ending with the Workshop Act of 1867, have gradually brought trade after trade within the purview of these educational requirements.* And now it may be said generally, that no child under the age of twelve or thirteen can be employed in any kind of manufacturing process without receiving some amount of schooling. As to the quantity and quality of the schooling required, these several Acts vary in their conditions ;

* See Appendices II. and III. at the end of this volume.

they vary also widely in the degree in which they have been found practically operative. Those that relate to cotton and woollen factories and potteries are working successfully and beneficially; the Printworks Act, the Mines Act, and I fear the Workshops Act, are of little or no educational value. Still the experience gained in all these cases is valuable, and there is no reason why the Acts that have proved unsuccessful should not be amended.

It remains to extend this kind of legislation to that large field of juvenile employment which yet lies outside the pale of the law—agriculture. A royal commission is now inquiring how this may best be done. Of course it is more difficult to enforce such a law over scattered farms than in workshops or factories. But I see no reasonable objection to a law requiring that no boys or girls under fifteen years should be hired for farm service of any kind, unless they could produce certificates, signed by a teacher and countersigned by a Government School Inspector, that they had passed an examination in the *fourth standard* of the Revised Code.* Of course, such a law would require, as a precedent condition, that all schools should be under inspection. But this in the opening of this chapter I showed to be for other reasons most desirable, and in harmony with the ripened feeling of the country. The pressure of this requirement on such struggling parents as the Prince Consort described in the passage before quoted, would be so slight as to constitute no hardship. The school attendance requisite to enable a child to pass in the fourth standard might be taken at times least inconvenient to the parent. A couple of years of steady attendance in the infants' school, and then an alternate day attendance, or an attendance during the six winter months, for three or four more years, would be sufficient to qualify most children to pass in the fourth standard by the time they were ten

* Fluent reading, writing from dictation on paper, and easy money sums.

or eleven years old. An example made, here and there, of a child being deprived of a situation for non-fulfilment of this simple condition, would soon teach all the parents of the neighbourhood to look carefully to the *early* schooling of their children, and in a few years no parent would like his child to leave school without his "certificate." I am sure, from my knowledge of our rural parishes, that such a simple law as this would soon work without any friction whatever,—would become, in short, after eight or ten years, the custom of the country, carrying with it the feeling and approval of both employers and employed.

With "juvenile-labour laws" of this kind, made commensurate with the whole field of children's employment, whether manufacturing, domestic, or agricultural, we should have brought almost all our labouring population under the stimulus of what I have called a system of "*indirect compulsion*" in the matter of their children's schooling. I say "*almost all*" the population, and not "*all*," because there is a residue whom such laws will never reach; and such residue (it will be objected) are precisely the class that we most need to reach,—I mean *the idle ones*. Vagabond or reckless parents, who do not care that their children should seek regular employment, would be untouched by such laws. They would require to be supplemented, therefore, with a special view to such parents, by other Acts. And the lines of such supplemental Acts are already laid down in Mr Adderley's Industrial Schools Act, (1857,) and Mr Evelyn Denison's Out-Door Pauper Act, (1855.) The first Act empowers magistrates to commit to a certified industrial school, all children brought before them as vagrants, or as being "in no good way." The other Act empowers guardians to pay for the schooling of the children of out-door paupers out of the rates, and might be amended to make their attendance at school a condition of such relief. Both Acts are

permissive only. And it has been thought that the feeling of the country was not ripe for making them compulsory. Now that the law has come to deal with the children of the independent respectable labourer all over the country, I am persuaded that the public will see the equity as well as policy of tightening its compulsion of the children of the vagrant class.* As I said, these latter Acts are the proper supplement of those juvenile-labour laws. The two together will give us precisely that system of *indirect compulsion* which the welfare of the nation needs, and by filling our schools with a larger and more regular attendance of children, enable them to become more self-supporting, and so solve the problem of school maintenance, which, at the opening of this chapter, I purposely connected with the question of school attendance.

Thus, to sum up, I contend that—(1.) the enforcement of inspection in neglected parishes, and (2.) a further extension of those laws by which we are now indirectly stimulating school attendance, will be found sufficient to ensure the education of our labourers' children. And I contend also that this method of *indirect* compulsion has three paramount merits as compared with *direct* compulsion.

1. It has been proved practicable, which direct compulsion has never yet been shown to be.
2. It does not alienate the parents, as any attempt at direct compulsion certainly would.
3. It leaves untouched the constitution of our schools which a system of direct compulsion must certainly revolutionise.

On the first point,—the impracticability of *direct* compulsion,—I can only express a strong opinion. Till trial has been made none can say positively that the thing is impossible.

* See recommendations of the Royal Commissioners of 1861, vol. i. 383, 414.

On the second and third points I am content to rest my case.

Our English schools have grown up amongst us as plants native to our soil. The mothers of England are accustomed to them, and give them their confidence.

Let us think twice and thrice before, in our impatience to see more fruit, we pull them up to make way for a new-fangled thing which might never take root, or taking root, might be found to bear fruit of a kind that our nation is far from desiring.

CHAPTER III.

NEED OF ONE SIMPLE LAW FOR THE REGULATION OF CHILDREN'S LABOUR.

THE further extension of the educational principle of the Factory Acts, advocated in the last chapter, forces upon us the question whether we should not do more wisely to extend it at once to *all* hired service of children in manufactures, or in agriculture, or in domestic service ; and so give *universality* to the principle of making some amount of education a condition of children's employment.

For many years thoughtful people have seen that sooner or later this question must be raised and seriously answered by the nation one way or another, for until it be answered all other educational questions must be thereby embarrassed. Raised it was, prematurely perhaps, by Mr Adderley's Bill in 1860 : answered it has not been. That Bill was rejected chiefly because of the state of the public business at the period of the session to which its second reading had been postponed, and also because honourable members wished for more time to consider the subject. Mr Gladstone, Sir James Graham, Sir George Lewis, and others who opposed the second reading, expressly said that they by no means wished to be understood to negative its principle.

That the problem is a very difficult one may be at once admitted. It involves some of the most vexed questions of political philosophy, leading up to that fundamental controversy

which has divided political thinkers in all ages—"What are the functions of the State? What is the proper end of Government? Is it merely the protection of person and property? or is it the highest good of the greatest number?"

If this particular question of educational policy is to wait for solution until that controversy is settled, it may wait till the Greek Calends. Fortunately in England we do not decide everything on first principles, or according to rules of logic. "Is it likely to work well? If so—adopt it: it can be amended from time to time, as experience may suggest." It is in this way that our polity has grown up, and been gradually moulded into its present form, and it seems likely that our national system of education, if we ever attain to one, will be of the same concretionary growth. Each step in this process of growth is sure to encounter opposition; and this need not be regretted. The more political economy has come to be studied by us, the more the rule of "let be," "let alone," "let each go his own way," has come to be adopted in our legislation. And wisely, for what is civilisation, truly considered, but self-control? And the more a nation learns self-control, the less does it need to be controlled by law; nay, further, control by law becomes a positive evil—tending to weaken the principle of self-control. Hence it is that nearly all the most valuable Acts of Parliament of late years have been repealing Acts; and amid this general tendency towards relaxation, any proposal to create a new restriction, is rightly regarded with jealousy. The burden of proving its necessity clearly lies on the proposer.

Nevertheless, it may be with this education question as it is with the question of our fortifications. The doctrine of "let be" may in the end only prove us "penny-wise and pound foolish." There are enemies within our four shores far more formidable than any foreign invader. Penny-wise and pound-foolish indeed shall we be, if for fear of a very slight restriction

on our productive industry, we allow ignorance and folly to gain ground in the heart of our increasing population !

I said, "The burden of proof lies on the proposer," and it is not difficult to show that in this matter other motives on which we have been depending have been tried and found wanting. It is high time those who are practically conversant with the work of education should speak out. We hear much of the rapid progress of education, and in one way it is true. Schools are being multiplied, teachers are being trained, large sums are being spent. Inspectors examine these schools, and in each school find a first class of fairly good scholars, and report accordingly : and people suppose that all the children before they leave will receive the education of this first class. But what are the facts ? I speak advisedly and after careful inquiry when I say, that even in places where good schools exist, not one in six of the children ever reach this first-class. Ask the teacher of any of our annual grant schools, and he will tell you that one-third of the children of the place still prefer to go to dames' schools, and of those that are entered on his books not more than one in four reaches the first class.* Thus it is that the work done is by no means commensurate with the means employed. The means are excellent, but they only reach one-sixth part of the population. Nor do I perceive much prospect of improvement in this respect. We have seen a rapid increase in the number of good schools ; but in the proportion of the population that have been willing to avail themselves fully of the education so offered, we have seen little or no advance. My belief is that if every parish in England had its good school, not more than one-sixth, or at the very most one-fourth, part of the population would care to get more than their present smattering of

* These figures are the results of a circular inquiry addressed to all the pupil-teacher schools in the three counties which formed my district in 1860.

education ; and at present not more than one child in six learns to read with sufficient ease to retain, or care to use, the faculty in after life.

Now some commentators on the last educational census would have us believe that industrial employment is not to any great extent the cause of this neglect of education. In the census of 1851 the number at school, and the number at work, were far exceeded by the number neither at school nor at work ; and the false inference, that employment is not the main hindrance to schooling, has been largely accepted. One would have thought it needed but little reflection to perceive that numbers of those who happened to be neither at school nor at work on the 31st of March 1851, might be attending school or working for wages, as thousands do, in a desultory way. All who know anything of schools are aware that most children are withdrawn, in the first instance, for the sake of the odd work they may pick up. But on this point I need not add another word ; it is abundantly notorious among all who are practically conversant with schools, that it is the labour market which draws away our children, and defeats our efforts to educate them ; and as I said above, we see no probability of this difficulty being diminished ; on the contrary, the demand for young children's labour seems likely to go on increasing with the increase of machinery.

Admitting, then, that, unless good reason to the contrary be shown, the rule of "let alone" is a wise rule in legislation, it seems to me that in this case good reason has been shown for legislative interference. Without it the large sum annually voted by Parliament, and the still larger sums raised by the country to meet this vote, are proved to be, to a great extent, unproductively expended. We go on, providing schools for children, and we neglect to provide children for the schools.

Setting aside, therefore, in this case the general rule of "*laissez faire*," we have two other arguments against legislative interference to meet. First, the argument of the advocates of the Voluntary System, pure and simple, who contend that State interference with education is so wrong in principle that no amount of expediency can justify it; and secondly, the argument of the Economists, who deprecate the imposition of any restriction on juvenile labour, for fear of enhancing the cost of production.

For the first it might, perhaps, be enough to say, that their principles have already been outvoted and overruled in this country; but in this matter we can afford to take up common ground with the small minority who still protest, and show that even they ought to be with us on their own principles. For what does the "Voluntary System" mean? It means a system of schools that shall be locally governed, being independent of State control; and, as a necessary consequence, it means a system of schools that shall be locally supported, independent of Government grants: for those who pay must govern. Any measure, therefore, which tends to make schools more self-supporting than they are at present, ought to be hailed by the disciples of this philosophy as a step in the right direction. Now, confessedly the reason why our schools are not at present more self-supporting is, that the parents do not care sufficiently for education to take full advantage of them, or pay their school fees with regularity. Any measure that would fill our schools with a steady attendance of children would render them at once far more self-supporting and independent, and ought, therefore, to have the hearty support of the Voluntaries.

The opposition of the Economists is more formidable; for, disinterested and philosophical themselves, they have at their back all the selfishness of the country. Heavily burdened as

we are, they say, and threatened by the competition of countries where labour is cheaper than in England, we must jealously forbid interference with the labour market, leaving it to be self-regulated according to the rule of supply and demand.

Now here, as before, I might be content to answer, "The question is no longer an open question, the principle of interference has been already sanctioned. To be consistent, you must repeal your Factory Acts, which for a quarter of a century have worked so well, your Printworks' Acts, your Bleachworks' Act, your Mines' Inspection Act, and your Workshop Act." But, I go further; I claim the support of the Economists, as I did that of the Voluntaries, on their own principles. On economical grounds, and because of that very competition which they dread, I appeal to the manufacturing interests of this country to support this educational measure.

The Economists require that no manufacturing interest should be placed under a disadvantage, as compared with other manufacturing interests, in its command of labour. In juvenile labour, as in other marketable articles, there ought to be free-trade. But what is the state of the case? Our manufacturers of clothing and hardware are trammelled by legislative restrictions in their employment of labour, while our manufacturers of food are free. The farmer may employ children at any age, for any number of hours in the day, while the proprietor of the neighbouring factory or mine can only employ them under certain educational restrictions. Clearly, I think,—so clearly that when stated it seems a truism,—all or none ought to be restricted. All are competing one against another for the children's labour; all desire to obtain it on the cheapest terms. Is it fair that labour in the mill should be stinted by law, while labour in the adjoining farm is entirely unre-

stricted? And yet such is the case. And what is the result?—that the children are forsaking restricted employments, and flocking into those that are unrestricted. The factory inspectors, while they unanimously commend the educational effect of the Factory Acts, confess at the same time that there has been a serious diminution in the number of children employed in mills. Since the passing of these Acts, numbers of children have left their half-time employment in the mill, to seek full-time employment at an earlier age in shop or farm service. The same will be the case in our collieries. The difficulty of finding an adequate supply of young hands is daily increasing, and will go on increasing, if other employments continue to be unrestricted. Thus, in some of the most important branches of trade, (such as our cotton trade and our coal trade,) the cost of production is unfairly raised by our present partial measures. We must recede or advance in this course of legislation. To recede—to go back to the frightful evils of the old factory and colliery system, described in the Reports of the Children's Employment Commissioners, but now happily a matter of bygone history, would be infatuation. Advance we must; political economy and education alike demand it. The Economist demands that all or none should be restricted, and the Educationist demands that the undoubted blessings of the factory legislation should be extended to other classes of children.

But I claim the support of the Economists on other grounds. I am prepared to show that by the enactment of such a general law, while the price of children's labour would not be increased, nor the supply diminished, its value would be greatly enhanced.

And first, the price must ever depend on the supply. If I can show that the supply will not be diminished, I may assume that the price will remain the same. The prejudice to the

contrary—that education will raise the rate of wages demanded by children—is simply explained by the fact that educated children are at present a minority, and can afford, therefore, to ask higher wages. If education (*i.e.*, a rudimentary education such as we are asking for) became the rule instead of the exception, children's wages would not rise, unless indeed the age of labour were thereby much postponed. That it would not be postponed by the operation of such a law I am persuaded. In a few extreme cases, where at present children are employed at an unjustifiably early age, the commencement of labour would doubtless be delayed, but in the average it would not, and, therefore, the average price would not be raised. The effect of a law requiring that children should learn to read and write and cipher before going to work, would simply be that whereas parents are now careless how their children spend the year or two immediately preceding the commencement of work, they would, under the operation of such a law, find themselves very materially and very largely interested in seeing that this precious time was spent in regular attendance at school. And if I am asked, "What then is the great advantage accruing to education and to the moral worth of the labourer?" I answer that this early grounding in the rudiments is educationally all-important. The want of it is frustrating half our efforts to provide wholesome recreation, and the means of self-culture to our young work-people; and to secure it to them would be to implant a germ of hope within their breasts which would retain its vitality through many a year of hardship. The youth who can speak with his pen to a parent or a friend at a distance, and to whom a book is a living thing that has much to say of deepest import for him to know, becomes at once the "being of large discourse, looking before and after," with a consciousness of powers and a sense of responsibilities that after all are his surest safeguards against

vice and folly. That such a youth becomes thereby a worse labourer few now believe ; that he becomes a wiser man and better citizen fewer still will doubt. The experience of the blessed results of education has not, it is true, reached as yet into all the corners of our land ; but where these have been known and felt, there one surely finds along with them a constraining desire to impart the like to others, and a deep conviction that England will be more prosperous, more wealthy, more righteous, and more wise, as a nation, in proportion as she secures to her young children their birthright of knowledge.

To sum up and conclude. The advocates of a universal juvenile-labour law claim a hearing because the experience of five-and-twenty years has shown that it is not enough to create good schools—that the people will not take advantage of them unless protected by law from the irresistible allurements of the labour-market.

We claim the support—or, at least, the silence—of the Voluntaries, because they have already conceded, on a small scale, what we wish to see enacted on a large scale ; and also because by such a measure our schools will be made more self-supporting, and consequently, more independent of State support.

We claim the votes of the Economists, first, because our present partial legislation is unjust, tending to raise the cost of production in some of our most important branches of trade ; and secondly, on the more general ground that educated labourers are more steady, more trustworthy, and so more valuable, as producers, than uneducated labourers ; and that, therefore, to make some amount of education a universal condition of children's employment, is a sound commercial policy.

Note.—The allusion to Mr Adderley's Bill on the first page of the foregoing chapter will be best explained by the following memorial on this subject, which I presented in the year 1860 to Sir George C. Lewis, the then Home Secretary. The result was the Bill which Mr Adderley introduced, and which was read a first time on the 26th April of that year, but rejected on the second reading :—

SIR,—In the interview which you were so kind as to give me last week, you said that my proposal of one simple comprehensive law, for the protection of children, applying to *all* hired employments, was something new, and had never been brought under the consideration of the Legislature ; but that I might draw up a memorial on the subject.

And first, I must put prominently forward the broad undeniable fact, that a very large portion (some say a majority) of the children of the labouring poor still grow up to man's estate without any permanent faculty of reading and writing.

After all that has been effected for the advancement of education, something more needs to be done to convince the working classes of its necessity.

Three Bills are now before the Legislature, containing special provision for the education of young children employed in three particular branches of industry : Mines, Bleach Works, and Lace-making.

Supposing these measures to be carried, there will be, in all, *five* departments of our national industry placed under legislative restrictions in respect of the employment of young children.

1. For *Factory Children*, *i.e.*, children employed in mills where steam or water power is used for the manufacture of yarn or cloth, a law has been in force now for sixteen years, (7 Vict., c. 15,) requiring that none be employed under eight years old, and that until their thirteenth birthday (or *eleventh*

in the case of silk factories,) they shall attend school for one-half of each day. This Act has confessedly worked well.

2. For *Printworks*, an Act was passed fourteen years ago, (8 and 9 Vict., c. 29,) requiring that children therein employed should attend school for 150 hours, or 30 days, in each half-year. This attendance proves to be so desultory, and so very scanty, that it is of little or no educational value.

3. In *Coal Mines*, children's employment is forbidden under the age of ten years, by the 5th and 6th Vict., c. 99. It is now proposed by the Mines Regulation Bill, to extend to all children under twelve years, employed in mines, the educational provisions of the Printworks Act, so far modified as to require an attendance at school of 20 hours per month.

4. *Bleaching and Dyeing Works*, which were specially excepted from the 7 Vict., c. 15, will be subjected to similar regulations if Mr Crook's Bill be passed.

5. Lord Shaftesbury proposes to extend the like requirements to children employed in *lace-making*.*

Now from this review of what the Legislature has done or proposes to do for the protection of young children, two things are evident :—

First, that *the principle* of such legislative interference has been conceded.

And next, that the desirableness of extending the principle to some other industrial employments is recognised.

The principle upon which such legislation is to be justified, may, I suppose, be shortly stated thus : that while, on the one hand, *Security of Property* requires a minimum amount of interference with the production of wealth, *Security of Person*, on the other hand, requires protection from every act which tends

* For our subsequent legislation in this matter of juvenile employment, see Appendix III.

to impair the physical, moral, or intellectual happiness of any class in the community ; and the latter, just as much as the former, is the proper business of Government.

That such educational requirements as those of the Factory Acts have been sanctioned in England, while a strong national feeling continues to exist against any system of compulsory education, is to be explained by the simple fact that the people recognise at once the distinction between the interference of the law betwixt employer and employed, (*a public relation,*) and its interference betwixt parent and child, (*a private relation.*) Of the former kind of interference we have numerous instances in our Statute Book ; while the latter is foreign to our national habits.

That the legislative principle thus conceded, and in the case of factories, at all events, found to be so salutary, has not many years ago been extended to other manufacturing or mining processes, is clearly due to some or all of the following reasons :

1. The want of schools.
2. The opposition to such legislation on the part of the employers whose particular interests were in each case affected ; and
3. The expensiveness and cumbrousness, and, if I may so speak, un-English character of the system of inspection, which seemed to be necessary to enforce such laws.

Thus we see on one side a desire to have the legislative protection of children extended, and, on the other, three great difficulties delaying, or seeming to delay, any such extension.

The first difficulty has ceased to exist. In the three counties with which I am officially connected, there is no mining or manufacturing district in which a child could complain that no school was within reach. In the agricultural districts there are very few parishes that are still without day-schools,—none in

which a school (competent at all events to teach reading, writing, and ciphering) would not be speedily established if the parishioners desired it.

My object is to show how, as I believe, the two latter difficulties may be surmounted.

I will begin with the opposition of the employer. It does not in the least surprise me; nay, I confess, that if I were a large employer of labour I should oppose such legislative restrictions imposed on particular branches of industry as both impolitic and unjust. When four or five trades are competing with each other for "young hands" in the labour market, is it just to put this or that trade under restrictions, while the others are left free?

Take, for instance, North Staffordshire; there we have four distinct trades bidding one against the other for the labour of young children:

There is the coalmaster, forbidden by law to employ girls, and allowed to employ boys only after their tenth birthday;

The ironmaster, wholly unrestricted;*

The potter, also unrestricted;*

The silk manufacturer unrestricted in "the shades" where sewing silk is made, and under all the provisions of the Factory Act in the mill where power-weaving goes on.

If I were asked I should be wholly at a loss to say which was the most injurious to the young child,—the mine, or the forge, or the pottery bank, or the silk shade. There is no reason why one of these trades should be placed under the surveillance of the law more than another. But how anomalous the state of the law is! The child who is shut out of the pit because he is under ten, may at once find employment at the neighbouring forge or pottery, at nine, or eight, or even seven years old. Again, the child who is shut out of the silk mill under eight, or com-

* This was true in 1860, the date of this memorial.

pelled, if there employed, to go to school between eight and eleven, may be employed without any restriction for 10, 12, or 14 hours a day at the tenderest age in the silk "shade," or the "turning" shop. Now what is the effect of these anomalies,—commercially,—educationally?

1. *Commercially*, the effect is to keep up the price of children's labour in particular trades at an unnaturally high rate.

The coalmasters feel this at the present time to their great cost: the competition of the unrestricted industries obliges them to pay extravagantly for the labour of boys of ten years old, and in some districts it is so difficult to obtain that *Irish* children are coming to be largely imported. The employer whose trade is placed under restriction, needs, in fact, *protection* from the competition of the unrestricted employer. He has a right to say, "restrict all or none; to single out me for legislation, and let my neighbour go free, is unjust."

2. *Educationally*, what is the result? Do the children kept out of the colliery or the silk factory up to a certain age, go to school? Any one conversant with the facts will immediately answer, No: they are at once absorbed by the other trades of the district. Hence it is that in spite of legislation the school age is still so lamentably low in these districts. Facts prove how urgently the children need some more effectual protection. So that these partial laws are both *impolitic* and *unjust*: unjust to the employer, and impolitic as regards the children, because at the cost of much vexatious interference, little or no educational benefit is obtained. Both children and employers need the *protection* of a general and uniform law, equally affecting all sorts of industry.

It is my belief, indeed I have authority for saying, that many large employers of children's labour, who are prepared by all constitutional means to obstruct *partial* legislation, would gladly

support a *uniform* measure for the limitation of children's employment.

It may sound paradoxical, but I believe that the practical effect of such a law would be to lower the price of children's labour at eleven or twelve years old to its natural level; children's wages at that age would be no higher than what children now earn at eight or nine. Conscientious employers would regard such a law as a relief; many have said to me, "We disapprove as much as you do of the employment of children at this tender age; but how can we avoid it? If we don't employ them, others will; and the only result of our self-imposed restriction will be that we shall have to pay a ruinously high price for work that our neighbours get done very cheaply." Such a law, then, would remove an injustice—would be regarded as a *protection* both to the child and to the conscientious employer, and would arrest the otherwise inevitable encroachment which our competing industries are now making on the infantine strength of children.

It appears, then, if these views are correct, that by legislating at once comprehensively for all juvenile industries, instead of endeavouring, as at present, to bring them one by one under the control of the law, the first great difficulty—the opposition of the employers—would be much diminished, if not entirely obviated.

The other great difficulty remains to be considered—the question of inspection, with a view to the enforcement of the law. I believe that this difficulty, far more than the first which I named, has been the real hindrance to the extension of the Factory Acts.

It must, I suppose, be conceded at once, that to cover the whole face of the country with a complete system of inspection, such as now prevails over the small areas of the factory

districts, is out of the question. Parliament would be unwilling to pay for it, and the country would dislike it.

But would it be necessary? Several reasons dispose me to think that in case such a general law were carried, inspection might be in a great measure dispensed with.

1. I believe, and I have endeavoured to show, that such a law would be regarded with much more favour than the partial laws, of which only we have thus far had experience.

2. If, by a uniform restriction, all were given a fair and equal chance in the competition for boys' labour, there would be less temptation than in the present state of the juvenile labour market, to evade the law.

3. Public opinion is far more operative in behalf of education now than it was when the first Factory Act was carried.

4. The mere existence of such a law declaring it penal to employ children until they had received a certain amount of schooling, would greatly strengthen the hands of Educationists in their expostulations with parents or employers.

5. Here and there a prosecution would take place by way of example, and local associations would, I doubt not, be formed, comprising the Educationists and enlightened employers of each district, for the purpose of enforcing the law upon the less conscientious employers.

In fact, in this matter legislation for a few is far more difficult than legislation for all. Conscientious employers are obliged to resist the former, who would thankfully accept the latter. As with the early closing movement among shopkeepers, and indeed with all reforms affecting commercial competition, it is a case *for all or none*.

The employers in each particular industry would regard such a law as I am advocating, not as a restriction, but as a protection; and, thankfully accepting it themselves, would, in their

own interest, combine with the friends of education to enforce it on others.

For these reasons I am disposed to believe that while partial laws, affecting particular trades, must always require an expensive system of inspection for their enforcement, a general law might dispense with it.

Thus *both* the difficulties which must ever clog the Legislature in its present gradual and tentative mode of dealing with this subject—the opposition of the employer, and the objectionableness of inspection—would, as I believe, disappear before a bolder, simpler, and more general measure.

No law can work well, or be really efficacious, which to any great extent anticipates public opinion; but when the feeling of the country is ripe for any measure—as I believe it to be in this case—Parliament has only to speak the word, and the law becomes at once adopted into the *customs* of the nation.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. P. NORRIS.

P.S.—The proposed law should be to the following effect:—

That no child, under the age of —, be hired to work by time or by piece in any manufacturing or agricultural process, or in any mine, or in any employment whatever for wages or hire, unless the employer have a certificate under the hand of a competent authority that the child can read, write, and cipher.

Breach of this law should be punishable by a fine to be recovered in the usual way before magistrates, in Petty Sessions; and it has been suggested to me that prosecution might be facilitated by the appointment in each Petty Sessional district of an officer, to be called “Examiner of Children’s Certificates.”

CHAPTER IV.

THE REVISED CODE OF EDUCATION MINUTES, OF 1862.

UNDER the Revised Code the principles upon which the inspection of church schools is based remain unchanged. The clerical inspector is officially instructed to take precisely the same view of a school's efficiency that he has ever taken. (See "Letter of Instructions" to the Inspectors.) A school is to be regarded first and foremost as a place of moral and religious training. On this point he is to satisfy himself before he proceeds to more detailed examination. Taking, as heretofore, the parish clergyman as his assessor, he is first to examine the religious knowledge of the children and observe their discipline and behaviour ; and if he find that the state of the school in these respects is such as to justify a grant of public money, he then proceeds to examine the children individually in those necessary elements on which also the amount of the grant will depend.

Thus his report falls under two heads, which may be roughly but conveniently described as (1.) *Inspection*, (including under this term collective questioning,) and (2.) *Examination*, or the individual scrutiny of children who have attended 100 days, in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The last, (the individual examination,) together with the "average attendance" of scholars, determines the amount of the grant with which the school is to be credited.

The inspector's report under the first and more important

head decides whether this grant shall be paid in full, reduced, or withheld altogether. The details of the individual examination are forwarded to the Central Department, not only as vouchers but as data also on which to calculate the grant. The general recommendation of payment or the contrary depends on the Inspector's own discretion. It results from this arrangement that the Council Office takes direct cognisance of the reading, writing, and arithmetic, while the responsibility of estimating the moral and religious efficiency of a school rests upon an officer appointed conjointly by the Archbishop and Lord President, under the Order in Council of 10th August 1840.

So much for the form which *the inspection* of Church schools has taken under the new measures, differing very slightly, as will be seen, from that to which we had been accustomed.

I now come to the form which the *grant of money* to each school assumes. Herein lies what may be regarded as the very gist of the Revised Code.

Up to 1862 the grant had mainly taken the form of payments to particular teachers. It now takes the form of a contribution to the general funds of the school—the Government declining to have anything to do with the payment of the teachers. The reasons for this important change require some explanation.

It has never been the policy of Government in this country to supersede voluntary efforts in the matter of education. The intention of the Committee of Council in framing the measures of 1846, was to leave the schools mainly dependent on local resources, and under local control; while by small payments appropriated to teachers trained under the Government system, the State hoped to induce school managers to adopt an improved organisation.

Thanks in a great degree to the cordial co-operation of the

parochial clergy, these measures have been strikingly successful. Nearly half the schools in the country have voluntarily adopted the organisation recommended by the Government ; and the teachers trained under the minutes of 1846 have been accepted by the nation.

While the new system still needed fostering, and the aided schools were comparatively few, the complexity, partiality, and expensiveness of the administration were not objected to. But, as years went on, and the Government type of school came to be the rule instead of the exception, these evils more and more engaged the attention of Parliament.

The result was the Royal Commission of 1858, and a conviction on the part of a majority of the House of Commons that the minutes of 1846, though admirably well suited to develop, and bring into vogue, a new sort of school organisation, were not adapted to form the basis of a permanent and national system of Government aid.

The Government said, " If the nation really understands and values our system, let school managers now undertake to work it themselves ; and we will make to all managers who do so a grant of public money, amounting to about one-third of the whole expense of their school."

Thus the intention of the Legislature in 1862 was by no means to supersede the educational scheme of 1846, but rather to establish it all the more firmly by embodying it thenceforth in the Voluntary System of the country. Though the Government has ceased to work it in its details, direct encouragement is offered to the adoption of it ; grants being given exclusively to schools whose teachers have been trained, or at least accredited, under the education scheme of 1846.

It is highly important that the principle of this restriction should be understood.

In the Parliamentary debates, owing, I suppose, to the

frequent repetition of that misleading phrase, "Payment for results," some persons were so entirely blinded to the real character of the new measure as to challenge Government to be "consistent," and on "Free Trade principles" to throw open their grants to all schools, however organised or taught, so long as the reading, writing, and arithmetic were satisfactory.

This would indeed have been a great and disastrous revolution in our educational policy, involving the total abandonment of those principles that have hitherto guided us, and entirely sacrificing that system which the Committee of Council, during fifteen years of most difficult administration, have been labouring to introduce and recommend to the country. It is, doubtless, right and well that a certain attainment in reading, writing, and ciphering should be required as a condition of aid ; but these are not *the results* for which the nation is willing to pay a million a year. The educational results which the common sense of this country values almost beyond price are the Christian principles and habits of attention, industry, and order in which a good parish school endeavours to train its children. And the one, and almost only possible, security for these results which the State can have, is that the school be under careful management and properly accredited teachers.

It is notorious to any one who knows anything whatever of schools, that success in teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic by no means necessarily implies these higher "results" of education. It is equally notorious, and was confessed emphatically by the Royal Commissioners, that in securing these higher "results" schools under certificated teachers have been eminently successful. In the eighth and eleventh paragraphs of the "Instructions" issued to H. M. Inspectors this view of school "results" will be found to be carefully enforced.

Thus it will be seen that the Revised Code—so far from abandoning the education scheme of 1846—challenges the country to take it up, and carry it on, upon the voluntary principle, *i.e.*, by local administration. To all schools that accept this challenge a premium is offered, varying according to the efficiency of the school, but intended to amount on the average to about one-third of the total cost of the school establishment. This grant, as I have said, is made in one lump to the school managers; and on them now devolves (what the Committee of Council previously undertook) the appropriation of these moneys among the several items of school expenditure.

The simplification thus effected is manifestly very great indeed.

But this is of secondary moment; the really essential feature in the change was the retirement of the State from direct interference between school managers and school teachers. The importance of this can be scarcely over-rated. It seems to have been, if I may so speak, the motive of the measure from first to last. Those who had most carefully watched the operation of the minutes of 1846 had come to the conviction that sooner or later this must be. At the outset those minutes were a happy adjustment of the relations of the central Government to the Country in the matters of education. But it was their inevitable tendency, as the scale of administration became more extended, that the province of the former should encroach more and more on the province of the latter. The Education Department was paying the entire cost of the teachers' education from their thirteenth to their twentieth year, and after the completion of their training was retaining them in direct personal relation to the State, by means of the augmentation grant. While teachers thus paid were few and scattered, the protection seemed to be needed, and the balance between State and

Country was not endangered. But, when their numbers rose to many thousands, it began to be perceived that what had been a wise and safe fostering of an infant system was rapidly becoming an extension of State influence over a province of our commonwealth that was still professedly and constitutionally under the Voluntary System. The question was how to recede from this position? The teachers had been swimming on corks so long that they not unnaturally expected to go to the bottom if this aid were withheld. The Education Department, however, had more faith in their buoyancy; and, convinced that the measure was essentially beneficial to all concerned—teachers, managers, and children—resolved to withdraw what had long ceased to be any real support, and abstain from interfering henceforth in the pecuniary contracts between managers and teachers.

Thus the education scheme of 1846, with its tried and approved system of apprenticeship, training, and certificates, is offered to the country. Inspection, collective examinations of teachers, and grants in aid, continue to be available to assist in working it. But the State declines henceforth to undertake the direct patronage of the teachers.

The responsibility of school managers is doubtless much increased; but it is not found, now that the Code is fairly in operation, that their pecuniary liability is heavier than before. Schools had been carried on in very many instances more expensively than was necessary. In some parishes the services of female pupil teachers have been obtained on much cheaper terms, while in others it is found more economical to engage an assistant teacher, (who may also undertake the night school,) or stipendiary monitors. While large town schools continue to offer high salaries to older and more experienced teachers, a cheaper class of teachers is available (under Art. 132 Revised Code) for small rural schools, entitling them to

the full amount of Government assistance, from which such schools had been hitherto almost precluded.

To make these remarks still more practical, I will endeavour to exhibit in the form of annual balance sheets the financial operation of the Revised Code.

I will first give the income and expenditure of a liberally conducted town school, having 360 children in average attendance, with a night school of 40 or 50 :—

Dr.				Cr.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
SCHOOL PENCE.				Salary of Master . . .	110	0	0
120 Boys at 3d. and				Ditto Mistress . . .	70	0	0
2d. a-week, say	60	0	0	Ditto Infant Mistress . . .	60	0	0
120 Girls do. do.	60	0	0	Ditto Assistant Teacher . .	50	0	0
120 Infants at 2d.				Ditto Boy Pupil Teacher . .	15	0	0
and 1d. do. do.	36	0	0	Ditto 2 Girl ditto . . .	20	0	0
40 or 50 Boys at				Do. 3 Girl Stipendiary Monitors	15	0	0
night school, say	10	0	0	Books, Fuel, &c.	100	0	0
			166 0 0				
GOVERNMENT GRANT.							
4s. a-head on aver-							
age attendance	72	0	0				
Say 5s. 4d. a-head							
on 180 children							
above 6 years							
who pass on an							
average in two	48	0	0				
out of the three							
subjects . . .							
Additional grant							
under Art. 46, b.							
54, say . . .	10	0	0				
6s. 6d. a-head on,							
say, 90 Infants .	29	5	0				
7s. 6d. a-head on							
Night Scholars,							
say	15	0	0				
			174 5 0				
Voluntary Contributions and							
Collections			99 15 0				
			£440 0 0				£440 0 0

I will now give the balance sheet of a rural school, with an

average attendance of 100 boys and girls under a master and his wife, with a night school of 20, more economically conducted :—

Dr.	Cr.
£ s. d.	£ s. d.
School Pence, say 50 0 0	Salary of Master and Sempstress 90 0 0
Government Grant on average attendance 20 0 0	Salary of 1 Pupil Teacher 12 0 0
Government Grant on those who pass, say 25 0 0	Books, Fuel, &c. 25 0 0
Government Grant on Night Scholars 7 0 0	
Voluntary Contributions 25 0 0	
<u>£127 0 0</u>	<u>£127 0 0</u>

Lastly, I will give the balance sheet of a rural school under a mistress with 50 in average attendance :—

£ s. d.	£ s. d.
School Pence, say 25 0 0	Salary of Mistress 50 0 0
Government Grant on average attendance 10 0 0	(under Art. 132 of Revised Code.)
Government Grant on those who pass, say 15 0 0	Salary of Stipendiary Monitor 5 0 0
Voluntary Contributions 20 0 0	Fuel, Books, &c. 15 0 0
<u>£70 0 0</u>	<u>£70 0 0</u>

On comparing these accounts with those of similar schools under the old code, it will be found that while the managers of the first and second class of schools have not to increase their voluntary contributions, the managers of the third class have in many instances gained largely by the change,—this last sort of school having been, under the old code, almost precluded from participation in the Parliamentary grant. But however this may be, I am persuaded that, as years go on, the clergy will find their relations to their teachers improved, and the position of their schools more healthy and independent

than formerly. A much larger number of schools have been brought within the sphere of Government aid ; and, what is not unimportant, a large section of society, who have never ceased to regard both schools and teachers with a jealous eye, have been conciliated.

But after all it must be remembered that these aspects of the change are unimportant compared with the question, which all who earnestly care about education, will put foremost, "How does it affect the children?" And if, as I have endeavoured to show, the school is still regarded as a place of moral and religious training ; if the inspection is still conducted on this principle, showing the teachers and children that the work of the school is viewed in this light by the Government ; if the State still requires security that the teacher shall be no mere adventurer, but one who has been properly trained and accredited for his responsible office ; if in all these ways the higher purposes of education are provided for ; then, I think, all will acknowledge that the less ambitious scheme of instruction, and the greater strictness in testing the reading, writing, and arithmetic, are calculated to enhance rather than lessen the usefulness of the school as a place of training for the children of the labouring classes.

But if the view of the Revised Code which I have put forward in this chapter be a correct one, it will be seen that the true interests of the children are consulted in a yet more important way.

If I were asked to give my reason for believing that the English parish school is a better and healthier type of school than could be created by any more uniform or systematic plan of public instruction, I should answer that it gathers round it, in a way that no State school could, the kindly influences of the neighbourhood. Its support may press heavily on a few ; but those few are sure to be precisely those who are best fitted

to have the control over it. All that is most enlightened, most benevolent, most Christian in the parish, sustains and animates the work of the school.

It may well be doubted whether this could be secured on any other than the Voluntary System.

The Voluntary System was becoming rapidly enervated under the previous Minutes. The Revised Code, supplemented by other measures recommended in the introductory chapter of this volume, is, I believe, well calculated to reinvigorate it.

CHAPTER V.

EDUCATIONAL CONDITION OF STAFFORDSHIRE IN 1858.

It may not be uninteresting to reprint here, for the sake of comparison in future years, a report which I drew up at the request of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science on the state of popular education in Staffordshire in the year 1858. Since then the hope with which the paper ends that the principles of the Factory Act might be extended to the manufactures of this county has been realised ;* and I rejoice to think that in the Potteries at any rate the law is working most beneficially. In South Staffordshire the results of the Workshop Act have been, I fear, thus far hardly appreciable.

Many circumstances combine to render Staffordshire pre-eminently interesting in an educational point of view.

It is at once a mining, a manufacturing, and an agricultural county. While it has long been the chief seat of the pottery and the iron trade, it has been distinguished during many years for the scientific cultivation of many of the estates of its landed proprietors. Enthusiastic farmers, like the first Lord Hatherton and the late Earl Talbot, have done for its agriculture what the genius of Watt and Wedgewood did for its manufactures. Its commercial prosperity has increased its population to such an extent that, at the present time, the average ratio of its inhabitants to its area is double that of the rest of England.

* See Appendix III.

England is peopled at the rate of one soul to every two acres. In Staffordshire we find, in round numbers, a population of 700,000 souls, occupying an area of 700,000 acres. Of this population, a dense group of 100,000 occupy the northern coal-field; and a still denser group of 200,000 occupy the southern coal-field. These districts, which may be respectively called the "Potteries" and the "Hardware" district, present educational problems of the deepest interest, and at the same time of the most serious difficulty.

The general condition of the operatives of the hardware district, when I first entered it, was thus described in one of my reports :—

"My duties have led me to spend some portion of each of the three last years among the village towns which lie between Stourbridge and Wolverhampton. I have visited the colliers and iron-workers both at their homes and at their work, whether in the pits or at the forges, and have at the same time been careful to put myself into communication with those who seemed best to know the real condition of the people.

"I know that generalisations in these matters are for the most part untrustworthy; and with regard to other classes of operatives, I have found it difficult, and sometimes impossible, to sum up in one word their distinctive character; but in respect of the miners and iron-workers of South Staffordshire I have no such difficulty. *Improvvidence* is too tame a word; it is *recklessness*. Elsewhere improvvidence and sensuality exist to a lamentable extent, but qualified, and, as it were, under protest. Among the mill operatives of the cotton and silk districts, these faults are beginning to be redeemed by a thoughtful and almost reflective cast of countenance, which convinces the visitor that counteracting influences are at work. In the agricultural parts of my district, alongside of the notorious incontinency of the farm-servants, one may often observe, in the

improved dwellings and neatly-kept gardens of the married labourer, evidence that these vices are very generally giving way to sobriety and thrift in later life ; but *here*, young and old, men and women, married and unmarried, are uniformly, and almost avowedly self-indulgent spendthrifts. One sees this reckless character marring and vitiating the nobler traits of their nature ; their gallantry in the face of danger is akin to foolhardiness ; their power of intense labour is seldom exerted except to compensate for time lost in idleness and revelry ; their readiness to make ‘gatherings’ for their sick and maimed comrades seems only to obviate the necessity of previous saving ; their very creed—and, after their sort, they are a curiously devotional people, holding frequent prayer-meetings in the pits—often degenerates into a fanatical fatalism. But it is seen far more painfully and unmistakably in the alternate plethora and destitution between which, from year’s end to year’s end, the whole population seems to oscillate. The prodigal revelry of the *reckoning night*, the drunkenness of Sunday, the refusal to work on Monday, and perhaps Tuesday ; and then the wretchedness of their homes towards the latter part of the two or three weeks which intervene before the next pay-day, their children kept from school, their wives and daughters on the pit-bank, their furniture in the pawnshop ; the crowded courts and miry lanes in which they live, their houses often cracked from top to bottom by the ‘crowning in’ of the ground, without drainage, or ventilation, or due supply of water—such a state of things as this, co-existing with earnings which might ensure comfort and even prosperity, seems to prove that no legislation can cure the evil. The whole character of the people must be changed, and they must be taught early in life habits of forecast and self-control.

“Happily, the cause and the remedy are no less patent than the evil itself. *The cause may be found in the reckless habits of*

the people ; the remedy is to be sought in improvement of the home and of the school."

I am thankful to be able to add, that in the course of the last seven or eight years a most noticeable amelioration in the condition of these people has taken place. It was only the other day that the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, returning from a meeting of magistrates in South Staffordshire, convened for the purpose of considering how best the disagreements between the masters and the men might be settled, mentioned the remarkable fact that the present extensive strike,* unlike the strikes of past years, had been unaccompanied by a single act of violence ; and when I asked to what this was to be ascribed, he said it seemed to be the unanimous opinion of the magistrates that it was due to the spread of education among the people, bringing their minds more than heretofore under the influence of public opinion, and giving them more correct views of their own interests.

In connexion with many of the great works of our manufacturers, reading-rooms have of late been established, where the principal London journals can be read. The success of these reading-rooms bears a twofold witness to the progress of education. In the first place, their amount of custom shows that the number of those who can read with ease and pleasure is largely increased ; and in the second place, the way in which they have displaced a quantity of pernicious penny literature argues a more wholesome taste on the part of our reading operatives. Another fact must have struck those who have heard or read the addresses and circulars of the colliers, and that is, that amongst much that is still irrational, they point to many real evils which in previous strikes were not put prominently forward ; for instance, one of their chief complaints now is, that the *butties*, or contractors, pay them their wages in

* This was written in 1858.

public-houses, thus gratuitously throwing them in the way of a strong temptation to drink ; another is, that through the intervention of the butty-system, the iron and coal-masters see so little and know so little of the men.

Along with these symptoms of improvement may be mentioned the total discontinuance of bull and bear-baiting during the last eight or ten years ; the rare occurrence of fights between man and man ; the great popularity of excursion trips ; cheap concerts, lectures, and the revival of mechanics' institutes. It is not a mere assumption on my part that these facts are connected with the rapid extension of good schools in this district. I could produce abundant evidence of this connexion, had I space to do so.

The rapid extension of the means of popular education in the South Staffordshire mining district appears in the fact that within this district, comprising about 200,000 people, and occupying an area of about ten miles square, there have been built in the last ten or twelve years thirty new schools, capable of accommodating about 8000 children, nearly all of them being under certificated teachers, with apprentices, and annual grants in aid of their support from the parliamentary fund.

If we turn from the hardware district of South Staffordshire to the potteries, in the north of the county, the change for the better is hardly less remarkable, though much, very much, remains to be accomplished.

Those who remember the great outbreak of 1842, when the miners of the North Staffordshire coal-field rose against their employers, flooding the pits, plundering the provision shops, insulting the clergy, and hardly yielding to the superior force of the military who were called out to restore order ; those who remember what the potteries were in those days, and witnessed last year (1857) the quiet, patient bearing of the people during a season of unexampled depression in the trade of the district,

will confirm me in saying that the multiplied means of education afforded to the people during the intervening period have not failed to produce some good effects on the character of the people.

Several schools were already in active operation when I first knew the district in 1850; but they reached but few of the children, and those who attended them were little better than infants. Of 3538 children whom I found in these schools in 1852, one-half were under seven years old, and only nine per cent. were above eleven. Their average term of attendance at school was one year and eight months.

Out of ten boys' schools, having 1110 on the books, 476 had been withdrawn to work in the factories in one year. The ages of these boys, when so taken to work, were as follows :—

28 per cent. were under *seven*.

51 per cent. were above *seven* and under *ten*.

17 per cent. were above *ten* and under *thirteen*.

4 per cent. were above *thirteen*.

From eight girls' schools, having 817 on the books, 220 had been taken to work in the factories in one year at the following ages :—

15 per cent. were under *seven*.

80 per cent. were above *seven* and under *thirteen*.

5 per cent. were above *thirteen*.

One school was reported to me as having turned over its stock of children four times in two years and a quarter! In an infants' school of 200 children, only four were above six years old, and of the girls only three were above five. The mistress told me, in explanation, that at this age (five) they were generally kept at home to replace their sisters of six or seven, who then went to work!

Now, although I believe the condition of the potteries' child

has been to some small extent improved ; and though I have statistics to show that for some portion of them, at all events, the period of schooling has been extended to a later age ; and though here, too, as in South Staffordshire, the number of elementary schools has been considerably increased—about ten new schools having been built in this district during the last twelve years, and placed under efficient teachers—yet I cannot ascribe the improved morality of the potters and miners of North Staffordshire so much to the direct action of the elementary day-school, as to the establishment of evening-schools, adult classes, drawing-schools, and reading-rooms of late years. In one parish I hear of a Working Men's Association, numbering 300 members ; in another, of cheap concerts given by amateurs, and attended by many of the miners all through the winter ; in connexion with the largest iron-works of the district, (Lord Granville's,) day-schools, night-schools, a chaplain, services in the works, and a reading-room, have been established in the last few years, and—what is still more important—residences for the operatives have been built on an excellent plan. Night-schools are becoming very general, and are largely attended in the winter months, especially by the young workpeople and adults. At Stoke-upon-Trent, a school of practical chemistry was established, with a large class of journeyman potters and apprentices, and was rapidly becoming self-supporting, when, unfortunately, the master was unexpectedly obliged to leave the neighbourhood. It was only the other day that one of the men employed in Minton's works came to me to say there was a very general wish that it might be reopened.

The most successful day-school of the district is Kidsgrove. Here the children stay to a more advanced age than elsewhere, and their fees render the school almost self-supporting. Consequently, education is in this place bearing its legitimate fruits. Not an instance can be produced of a child educated at

Kids Grove daily schools, since their formation in 1839, having been convicted as a felon. Formerly drunkenness prevailed in this parish to a fearful extent ; now it very seldom occurs that a man is fined for this vice. The workmen very generally save their money, and great numbers have built themselves good houses.

But, as I said above, the regular attendance of the children at this and a few other schools to the age of twelve or thirteen, is an exception to the general rule which obtains in both the North and the South Staffordshire districts. For the most part, the children leave to go to work at a deplorably early age. And it is to this great evil, felt more or less throughout England, that I now wish to invite attention.

In no part of England has the evil of premature employment presented itself in a more aggravated form than in Staffordshire, and nowhere have more strenuous efforts been made to counteract it. Here, therefore, the educational problems connected with it may most profitably be studied.

No words of mine are needed to prove that the desultory attendance of children at school, and the very early age at which their schooling ceases, now form the main hindrance to national education. Time was when want of schools was our great difficulty : schools were built. Then we wanted a better class of teachers : an admirable system for the training of teachers was devised, and this need was supplied. With multiplied schools and superior teachers the annual expenditure began to exceed the resources of the Voluntary System, and a larger measure of grants in aid was accorded by the Government. Meantime the nation, after making these really great efforts to provide means of education for its children, was naturally looking for results. I believe I am not wrong in saying that some four or five years ago a very general feeling of disappointment began to be felt. Crime was not dimin-

ished—a good deal of conceit seemed to be engendered—domestic servants were not improved. Weak minds here and there were losing their faith in education. Things were in this state, and the further progress of this great national work went near to be imperilled, when public opinion was most opportunely set right in the matter, and attention directed to the real cause of our slow advance. It was no longer the want of schools for children, but the want of children for schools, that was now hindering us. Schools maintained at a great cost, and capable of imparting an excellent education, were found to be filled with mere infants, constantly coming and going, and altogether withdrawn long before any real impression could be made upon their minds or characters. This discovery of the real difficulty, and this conversion and concentration of public attention upon what had come to be the really important issue, were due, I believe, in a very large measure, to the reports of the inspectors of schools. Without any preconcerted purpose they echoed from all parts of England the teachers' complaint, that while the children came so irregularly, and left so prematurely, little or nothing worthy the name of education would be effected. In the Education Conference held in London, under the Prince Consort's auspices, last year (1857), the new problem thus raised found still more public expression. People inquired anxiously what measures had been taken to counteract the evil, and what success had attended them. Among other things, attention was called to the prize schemes and the registration scheme of Staffordshire. Both had been devised with a view to securing a more regular attendance of children at school, and both had been in a certain measure successful. In papers read before that conference, which have since been published, and in a series of special reports to the Committee of Council, these prize schemes, in their origin and operation, have been so fully described, that I need

not here do more than state a very few facts concerning them.

In 1852 it appeared that Staffordshire was suffering more than any other county in England from the early removal of school children to work. Attention being called to this by Mr Tremenheere in the south, and myself in the north—prize schemes were established in both parts of the county, supported by the liberality of the iron and coal-masters, and great manufacturers, whose annual subscriptions for this purpose soon reached a sum of nearly £500. None are allowed to compete for these prizes unless they are eleven years old or upwards, have been at least two years in regular attendance at school, and can produce certificates of good conduct. Candidates thus qualified are examined collectively by me each year, and those who reach a certain standard of marks receive a quarto Bible in their first year of competition, and £3 in subsequent years. After completing their fifteenth year, those who won prizes while at school may return to my examinations, and, if the testimonials from their employers are satisfactory, may compete for a higher prize. Thus a career of merit is opened to them, and encouragement held out to continuance of study after leaving school.

The success of the prize schemes, now in their sixth year of trial, may be stated under the following heads :—

1. The number of candidates has gone on steadily increasing.
2. The average age of the candidates has risen from eleven years and six months, to thirteen years ; and that of the first class in the several schools for nine years and three months, to ten years and nine months.
3. Their attainments have advanced no less uniformly and satisfactorily, especially in the boys' arithmetic, and in the girls' needlework.

4. The attendance at school has been more regular.
5. The teachers have been encouraged and stimulated.
6. The parents have discovered for the first time that the great employers of labour take an interest in their children's education.

In one respect, and one only, have the results disappointed us. Not much more than one-fourth—certainly not more than one-third—of the prizes are won by those for whose benefit they were specially intended, the children of the colliers and iron-workers.

Our failure to reach the children of the mining class thus far is an instructive failure. We cannot induce them to remain at school over their eleventh year, but we may perhaps induce a more regular attendance under this age; and we may perhaps, by an extension of the *after-prize* part of our scheme, encourage them to make a better use than heretofore of such leisure time as the intervals of work may allow them. And it is to be remembered that the work of a collier is by no means so continuous as that of the spinner, or weaver, or potter. The collier seldom works more than four, or at most five, days in the week; and his earnings being large, he can well afford the expense of a night-school or mechanics' institute. If the colliers were found unwilling to attend the better-dressed classes of a mechanics' institute, "Colliers' Institutes" might perhaps be organised, with special classes for Monday, the leisure day of the Staffordshire colliers and iron-workers. The after-prize offered by these prize scheme associations would find many more competitors if such Monday classes could be made general; and in this way the operation of our prize schemes might be invigorated in the one point in which they have thus far fallen short of success.

I now come to the other experiment which is being tried in Staffordshire, with a view to induce a better attend-

ance of children at our schools—I mean the *registration scheme*.

This originated in a wish to extend to the rest of the county the sort of stimulus afforded to the mining and manufacturing districts by the prize schemes. Money prizes over this wide area were out of the question, but an issue of testimonial cards seemed to be quite practicable.

The scheme may be very briefly described, its chief characteristic being its extreme simplicity.

Canon Hutchinson, Mr Hand, (the Deputy-Clerk of the Peace,) and I have undertaken the registration of such school children as can show that they have been at least two years in regular attendance at some school since their ninth birthday. The children need not belong to any particular class of schools. Their names may be sent in to the clerical registrar, or to the lay registrar, as the school managers may choose. On the receipt of their names, certificates of their registration are forwarded to the children. Each additional half-year that a child continues in regular attendance at school, entitles him to an additional card. As a testimonial, the cards will thus go on accumulating value. In fixing *eleven* as the age at which children should first become eligible for registration, we were guided by the consideration that to raise our standard much above the actual standard of school age would ensure our failure. If we wish to be in a position to go into the labour market, and say to the employers of labour, “Here is our registered article ; we ask you to give it the preference over that which is not registered,” we must take care that our supply is in some measure commensurate with their demand.

Our object, therefore, is to get a large number of children registered as rapidly as possible. Under protest, therefore, and as a concession to the existing state of things, we have allowed them to be registered at this very early age. Considering how

very young the children are, and how irregularly they attend in most of our schools, and remembering that it must take some time to make our plan generally known and understood, I confess that the number already registered exceeds my expectation. The number of schools that have sent in names is about 150 ; the total number of children registered is 2476 ; and of these a large proportion have continued to attend school for the sake of receiving cards attesting a yet longer attendance.

The success of the experiment so far seems to be mainly due to its extreme simplicity. We resolved to make the card simply and merely attest the one fact of regular attendance for a certain period. It was judged that to make it embrace considerations of conduct or attainment, would complicate the scheme, and render it liable to abuse and consequent discredit.

I rejoice to be able to add, that nearly all the principal employers of labour in the county have signed a declaration that they mean to recognise these cards as testimonials, and to instruct their agents to ask all children applying to them for employment whether they can produce their certificates of registration.

A printed copy of this declaration, with the names of those who have signed it, from the Duke of Sutherland down to the wholesale grocer of the country town, is hung up in the several schools. And thus an effort is being made in Staffordshire to effect by the Voluntary System that which many are calling upon the Legislature to make compulsory—the postponement of juvenile labour until a certain amount of schooling has been secured.*

In concluding this notice of the prize schemes and the regis-

* A similar and still more successful scheme for the registration of deserving school children has been instituted by the Hon. and Rev. S. Best, Vicar of Abbott's Ann, in connexion with the Southern Counties Adult Education Society.

tration scheme of Staffordshire, I am anxious to say distinctly what I have said from the first, that I cannot look upon them as permanent institutions, or as adequate, on their present footing, to counteract in any great degree the evil against which they are directed.

They have been started and sustained by a strong wish on the part of several people in Staffordshire to attack the evil, and to see what could be done by voluntary effort and individual exertion, pending the establishment of more permanent and effectual measures.

I know, from personal intercourse, that many of the leading manufacturers, both in the potteries and in the iron district, desire some legislative enactment for these districts analogous to that which has been applied to the employment of children in the textile manufactures of the north.

It has been proposed by some to apply the principle of the Factory Act, requiring that young children shall only be employed in relays, attending school half their time.

It has been proposed by others, that the principle of the Printworks Act should be rather adopted, making an attendance at school of 150 hours (or thirty days) in each half-year a necessary condition of employment.

After a very careful inquiry, I have no hesitation in saying, that neither of these laws would be applicable to the manufacturing districts of Staffordshire.

The first would be simply impracticable, owing to the very limited supply of hands and the nature of the work. The second, in an educational point of view, would be worse than useless. Such a desultory and capricious attendance at school as it sanctions is not only worthless to the child, but most hurtful to the efficiency of the school.

I am acquainted with several schools in Cheshire frequented by printworks' children. The masters uniformly complain to

me that their attendance is useless to the children, and injurious to the school.

It remains that some third plan should be proposed, free from the objections attaching to the Factory or Printworks Act.

I believe such a measure may be found suggested in the registration scheme now at work, and accepted in Staffordshire.

*Why should not all schools grant such certificates of schooling, to be signed by the teacher, and countersigned by some competent authority, such as a magistrate?**—and why should not the inspectors of mines be instructed to require all children employed in mines to produce these certificates?

The extension of such a law to the potteries and iron-works would involve the appointment of inspectors of these manufactories; and how far such inspection would be feasible, I am not competent to say. But in the case of mines—being already under inspection—I see no difficulty. The measure seems to be recommended by its extreme simplicity, and by the fact of its having been already tried, and found, so far as it has been voluntarily adopted, to answer in Staffordshire. One of those who assisted me most in carrying the scheme into operation in the south mining district, was himself an iron and coal-master. He brought it before other masters at their quarterly meeting, and found very few disposed to object to it.

If I am asked how far I consider prize schemes a permanent institution, I answer that I cannot expect them to take a permanent place among our educational institutions until they are supported by endowments. In comparing our system of elementary education with the system of higher education carried on in our grammar schools and universities, the very

* This was written in 1858. As will be seen from chapters I. II. III. I believe the time is now ripe for making universal the legal requirements of such a certificate as a qualification for labour for hire under the age of fifteen.

first thing that strikes us is, that the latter is largely endowed with prize funds, while the former is almost entirely without such attractions. Why the child of a poor man should be expected to value learning for its own sake purely, while for the son of the rich man it is accompanied with every sort of allurements in the way of prizes, exhibitions, and fellowships, it is not easy to understand. The Charity Commission now sitting in St James's Square could not render a greater service to popular education than by converting the bread charities, clothing charities, apprenticing charities, &c., into permanent prize bursaries for, or exhibitions in connexion with, schools properly and permanently constituted, under regulations wisely and carefully drawn up by persons competent to advise in such matters. For it cannot be too carefully remembered that prizes inefficiently or unwisely administered may be productive of far more harm than good.

I must now bring these remarks to a close. I have endeavoured to show how, in Staffordshire, we have had most strikingly exemplified those hindrances to education which are being more or less felt throughout England; I have pointed out the way in which voluntary effort has been directed against them in this county, and with what measure of success this effort has been attended; from our prize schemes I have drawn a suggestion for the application of some of our charitable endowments to this purpose; and in our registration scheme I think I see the germ of a practicable and effectual measure for securing a larger amount of education to our operative children.

On the whole, the progress made in the last ten years has been steadily sustained, and far exceeds what even sanguine people expected. But looking generally at the county, the main result of the survey must still be a conviction that though much has been done, far more remains to be done. Considering how many schools are still inefficient, and how in the best

schools the majority of the children leave before reaching the first class, I fear I should be rather over than under the mark if I said that even one-fifth or one-sixth part of the children of the county are being reached by our improved system of education. This fifth or sixth part are our future £10 householders, and we can scarcely estimate too highly the benefit our national schools are conferring on this class. But the children of the class below still need to be protected from the competition of the labour market, and the children of the lowest class almost entirely escape us. While this is so, I need hardly say that it is in vain to expect much improvement in our criminal statistics. We are slowly, and I think surely, working down towards the crime-breeding stratum of society, but we have not yet reached it. It is a premature and false conclusion, that education is not the true remedy for crime; our criminal classes have never yet come within her influence. Once let her light be fairly brought to bear upon the dark haunts of our crowded population, and here, too, she will assuredly fulfil the purpose which Milton so magnificently assigns to her—the purpose of “repairing the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love Him, to imitate Him, to be like Him.”

CHAPTER VI.

ADULT EDUCATION AND EVENING-SCHOOLS.

THE department of national education of which this chapter treats, is at once new and old. Only since the date of the Revised Code have evening-schools come to vindicate for themselves public recognition as a matter of national policy ; but in the way of voluntary effort or private enterprise they are of older date than people imagine. Before the days of even Bell and Lancaster they were to be found in the towns of the north. One of the oldest and most respected inhabitants of Bolton, in Lancashire, told me that they were common in his youth, and that he himself attended one of them more than sixty years ago. It was held by a Mr Cunliffe, a self-taught mathematician, master of Hulton's Charity School, on his own account, and was frequented by thirty or forty young men, chiefly of the working-classes, whose early education had been neglected ; my informant and two or three others went to learn Algebra, paying a higher fee. The factory system, with its regularity of hours and habits of association, naturally favoured the growth of such institutions, and next to his "Sabbath School," the Lancashire weaver to this day dearly loves an evening-school.

To what extent evening schools existed in other parts of England I am unable to say ; if at all, it was only by way of desultory effort. The Royal Commissioners of 1862 say, that the first public recommendation of this kind of instruction is to be found in a letter addressed by Bishop Hinds to Mr

Senior, and published in 1839. It was entitled, "On Supplemental Evening Schools," and proposed that £500 be appropriated annually out of the parliamentary grant for their support. The suggestion was not, however, acted on; and until the year 1855 they received no direct recognition on the part of the Committee of Council on Education.

In that year what is called the *Night-School Minute* was passed, offering premiums, from £5 to £10, to teachers of night-schools. This was in consequence of a strong recommendation to this effect in my annual Report for 1854, in which I called attention to the devotion and self-sacrifice of the clergy and their families in the maintenance of evening-schools, and their urgent need of assistance if the work was to be made permanent. The purpose of the minute was to retain in this province of elementary education "a class of men by no means uncommon in the manufacturing districts—men who, under the constraining influence of religious feeling, or a strong natural love of teaching, had, perhaps, for many years devoted such time as they could rescue from the loom or from the shop to the Sunday school or evening-school of the parish." Under the encouragement of this minute, many persons of this description came forward, giving their evening service to the work, and at the end of the year 1855 I was able to report that forty night-schools were in operation in Cheshire and Staffordshire.

In 1859-60, the Royal Commissioners found a total of 2036 evening-schools in the country, with about 80,000 scholars, of whom two-thirds were in church schools.

This was a great increase on previous years, but still little more than a beginning, a mere fragment, a mere twentieth-part of the field of national education: 1,675,000 were found in day-schools, and only 80,000 (one in twenty) in evening-schools. However, the Royal Commissioners made emphatic

mention of their importance in their final summary of recommendations : they advised " that inasmuch as evening schools appear to be a most effective and popular means of education, the attention of the Committee of Council be directed to the importance of organising them more perfectly and extending them more widely than at present."

Accordingly, in the Revised Code we find them, for the first time in their history, lifted into a position of co-ordinate importance with the day-school, assumed in fact to be the rule and not the exception. The opening words of the second chapter of the Code are these:—"Schools may meet three times daily; viz., in the morning, afternoon, or evening." Their scholars are admitted to examination, and grants are offered on the results, as in the case of day-schools.

In theory, therefore, the evening-school is now an integral part of the educational machinery of every parish. But the discrepancy between our theory and our practice is enormous.

At the present time, with about two millions of children in our public day-schools, we cannot show more than a hundred thousand evening scholars.*

The recommendation of the Commissioners, " that evening schools be more perfectly organised and more widely extended," still lies before us unfulfilled. The Education Department and the school manager are alike awaiting a solution of the problem.

However cheerful and hopeful may be the view we may wish to take of our prospects, we must confess that evening-schools are still experiments, struggling to maintain their existence, dependent on the exertions and self-sacrifice of persons who

* The Minute of Feb. 1865 (see below, p. 88) has increased the number of night-schools under inspection. In 1867, out of about 640,000 scholars presented for examination in England and Wales, 40,000, or 1 in 16, were *night* scholars. But this proportion is far below what it ought to be.

ought not and cannot long be expected to endure the labour of their support.

I say broadly and emphatically that every parish ought to have its evening-school, and at the same time, that no parish clergyman ought to undertake the task of carrying them on without professional help.

Exhausted by the labour of these evening classes, and disheartened by the apparent failure of results, many an anxious clergyman is now asking himself whether, after all, the evening school is so important as has been supposed.

The question has been asked in several places, whether, as our day-schools increase in efficiency, the night-school will not cease to be necessary ; whether the true function of the latter is not, in fact, a temporary one, to instruct the remnant of an old generation who attended no day-school in their childhood, a generation which is rapidly passing away. This question was asked and received a definite answer in *South Staffordshire* four years ago.

A few years ago, an Adult Education and Evening-School Association was formed in that district, under the active guidance of Lord Lyttleton, with a paid organising master, 30 or 40 night schools in union, periodic collective examinations, leading on to those of the Society of Arts, and a well-organised prize scheme. The labours of the president, of the committee, of the organising agent, of the teachers have been unremitting. A most creditable proportion of the night scholars have been successful. In its third year of operation 157 received local certificates, and 51 those of the Society of Arts. Still, the classes required constant stimulus ; still the volunteer teachers fell off, or were overtasked ; still the working-classes seemed hardly to value all this effort on their behalf. The question was naturally asked, "Is it because the district has now enjoyed excellent day-schools under certificated teachers for fifteen years

or more, and so the need of elementary instruction for the young workpeople is ceasing?" To get a practical answer to this question, a sub-committee was appointed in 1864, and was charged to inquire into the attainments of the young operatives in certain works, the proprietors of which had kindly consented to the examination. 559 were examined, of whom 500 said they had attended day-schools before going to work, their ages varied from 12 to 17. They were examined in reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic; and were classed as "good," "fair," and "failures;" the standard marked as "good," was the standard of the second class of a good national school; "failure" meant that the boy knew little or nothing of the subject. *The failures in reading were 41 per cent. ; in writing 39 per cent. ; in spelling 62 per cent. ; in arithmetic 67 per cent.* Well, indeed, might this sub-committee say that, from these results, it would appear that a very large proportion of boys employed in manual labour, even of those who had passed through our national schools, were still in need of instruction in the simplest rudiments of learning!

When one considers that the rapid forgetfulness of school learning, indicated by these results, was proved to exist in a district of highly-paid labour, abounding in excellent day-schools, for whose encouragement a prize fund of £300 had been annually raised for the last thirteen years, it will, I think, be admitted that the day is indeed far distant when the efficiency of our day-schools will have rendered evening-schools unnecessary. If they are so evidently necessary in such a district as South Staffordshire, much more are they necessary in our comparatively backward rural districts.

If proof were needed that our improved day-schools are by no means diminishing the need of evening-schools, it would be amply supplied by the evidence collected by the Royal Commissioners from all parts of England. Of 12,482 scholars in

317 evening-schools examined by the Assistant Commissioners, 10,706, or 83 per cent., had attended day schools, and yet almost all were in need of the most elementary instruction in reading, writing, and ciphering. Nor need this be wondered at when it is remembered that "of the children who nominally pass through our best day-schools, only *one-fourth* stay long enough to reach the first class; three out of four leave with only such a smattering of education as they may have picked up in the lower classes." (*Minute for 1859*, p. 109.)

That evening-schools *may* supply an adequate remedy for these defective results of our day-school education, is abundantly proved by the experience of the few places where they have been effectively carried on for several consecutive years. Nothing can be more decisive or encouraging than this experience. I could mention numbers of thriving clerks, contractors, and master workmen, who have told me that they owed all their success in life to what they learned at a night-school. I have examined twenty or thirty such schools in towns and rural villages, which seemed to me to be accomplishing a work at least as important as that of the day-school, and far more fruitful in immediate recompense to the conscience of the teacher. Two only I will instance by way of sample of the rest. One had been ten or twelve years in operation at Bollington, in Cheshire, having survived changes both of teachers and clergyman, and having in fact fairly taken root in the place. There, as in so many places, it had gone hand in hand with a good Sunday school. About fifty-five young factory women attended regularly three nights in the week, one for sewing, two for general instruction. The proceeds of the sewing realised in one year £42, and went far to support the day school. The general superintendence was committed to the certificated mistress; the actual work of teaching fell chiefly on a paid assistant, with a grant from Government, and three

or four volunteers. The clergyman or his wife was generally present, and read aloud some instructive and entertaining book during the needlework. In the third year of its operation he wrote to me :—"The good influence of our efforts has shown itself in many happy ways ; the night-school has deepened and quickened the interest in the day-school ; the number of Sunday scholars has rapidly increased, and now amounts to 700, of which number more than 100 are above twenty years of age, and 120 regular communicants. The spirit manifested by the night scholars is altogether pleasing ; and I thankfully bear witness to the great encouragement I have received from their example and assistance in my ministerial labours."

My next extract from my annual reports relates to a school at Congleton, St James', the first district created under Sir Robert Peel's Act, people employed in silk mills.

The night-school had been eleven years in operation, and was one of the best in my district. For some years it was under a most efficient assistant teacher. (*Minute of July, 1852.*) When he left, the clergyman (Rev. John Wilson) failing to find another assistant teacher under the old minute, and preferring an older man, appointed a silk-weaver under the minute of 1855. Of the success of this evening-school, Mr Wilson says :—

"Numbers of boys who have been scholars in it are now grown up, and are filling respectable places as clerks, upper servants in factories, &c. I can distinctly state that I know the night-school has been the means of raising not a few from the low and degraded state in which the parents and elder brothers were content to remain. I now find myself surrounded by a considerable number of young men who are intelligent, well behaved, and vastly superior to what 'factory lads' used to be. I may mention also that I readily recruit my staff of Sunday teachers from among the most promising of the night scholars.

“The subjects of instruction include *occasional* Scripture lessons, but not every evening, as nearly all the scholars attend the Sunday school ; a class of them are now reading the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress.’ Reading and writing form an important part of their evening lessons ; once or twice a week geography and grammar ; but by their own choice the chief portion of their time is given to arithmetic, in which they appeared at the last inspection well advanced.”

Mr Wilson adds, “Some of them are really good singers, and I think they are all the better lads for having this talent cultivated. A relation of mine (an attorney) has taken great pains with them, and none of the musicians have gone wrong in moral conduct. The old piano, to which the more proficient have access, jingles away, and it is wonderful how soon and how much they learn on it. The young men’s musical class has lately developed into a brass band, of which I consider the old piano the parent. A subscription for this purpose was started : the youths themselves gave £5 ; and though we are not a rich people, but just now very poor, £13 more was kindly added to it by friends. The teacher must be a clever, energetic fellow, and a really superior man, or else he will never do for a town like this. But with only £10 to add to the pence, I almost despair of engaging such a man.”

As I said before, I could multiply these instances of really successful night-schools by thirty or forty ; and yet of scarcely any of them could I say that they were on a secure and permanent footing. In no case are the school managers bound by their trust-deed to maintain them. In nearly all they depend for success on the clergyman, or the squire, or the manufacturer, or some members of their families.

Instead of multiplying particular instances, I will endeavour to sum up the experience of those best informed on the subject, giving the conclusions to which three distinct authorities—per-

haps the very best that I could have applied to, speaking of three distinct kinds of population—have furnished me with. One is from H.M. inspector, Mr Stokes, who draws his conclusions from the most successful group of night-schools that this country can perhaps show, the Roman Catholic night-schools of Lancashire, one numbering 629 scholars, another 589, another 546, and eight others above 200—a very remarkable group it must be admitted. He writes to me :—

“In my report for 1860, I tried to say something to the point on night-schools. For their success they rely on such conditions as these :—

“1. Regular habits of population, such as prevail in the factory districts where the hours of work are regulated by law.

“2. Managers zealous, affable, enjoying confidence, willing to attend nightly.

“3. Respect for scholars' wishes, or even whims ; avoiding the term ‘school,’ and calling it rather a ‘Club, or Young Men's Society ;’ formally enrolling the members, terming their fees ‘subscriptions ;’ excluding the absentees or defaulters from the ‘society ;’ appointing the most respected to be teachers.

“4. Perseverance ; a new night-school is irksome at first, with an established tradition it will almost work itself.

“On the other hand, excepting in a district of regulated labour, or without a manager of the right stamp, or without a *light hand* in the management, my experience leads me to hope little for night-schools on a large scale.”

These remarks (which seem to me of great value) are drawn from a factory district, it will be observed, where the hours of labour are regulated by law. Mr Baker, the well-known inspector of factories, whose reports are always full of valuable matter, also lays much stress on the great advantage to the night-school of our factory legislation. “Every year's experi-

ence," he says, "convinces me, from the clearest observation, and from opportunities of becoming acquainted with the habits of the working classes which have rarely been exceeded, that night-schools will have to be increased, and *all kinds of labour will have to be shortened that they may be filled.*"

So much for factory districts. I next go to districts of irregular labour, mining or manufacturing districts, where the hours of work are not regulated by law, seaport towns, watering-places, and the like. The difficulty here is much greater. Many of those whom we most wish to draw into our evening classes are employed *over-hours* in shops or in service; their attendance will be most irregular. By way of giving the cream of our experience of such places, I will transcribe the resolutions which were come to by the sub-committee of the South Staffordshire Association, (alluded to above.) Their inquiry and their deliberations had been of the most careful kind, spread over several months of this year, and the results they arrived at seem to me most trustworthy.

They reported that the evening-schools of the district "had to a great extent failed," and they ascribed their failure to the following causes:—

1. The indisposition of young people to attend schools after their day's work is over.
2. The frequent calls for over-work.
3. The great variety of cheap attractions, such as wakes and fairs, theatres, music-halls, clubs, and other places of amusement.
4. The indisposition of managers and teachers to carry on evening-schools, in consequence of the uncertainty that prevails as to their scholars continuing to attend school up to the period of the Government inspection.
5. The want of suitable provision to make the evening-school comfortable and attractive.

Their suggestions were as follow:—

1. That this association shall press upon employers of labour the desirableness of encouraging the boys in their employment to attend evening-schools.

2. That school managers should print tickets entitling the holder to evening instruction for six months ; and that packets of these tickets be sold to employers of labour, at a cost of half the usual night-school fee for six months, for distribution among their younger workpeople.

3. That evening scholars be encouraged to prepare specimens of writing, mapping, book-keeping, drawing, and other school work, for an annual exhibition.

In the third place, I come to agricultural evening-schools, and here my authority is one who will at once command attention. Mr Fraser, rector of Ufton, the ablest of the assistant commissioners, and a diocesan inspector of schools, gives me a desponding view of the prospects of rural night-schools. That his own is an exception is clearly due to his untiring energy. He writes to me :—"In the neighbourhood in which I live, and in others with which I am acquainted," (the district assigned to him by the Duke of Newcastle's Commission lay in five of the western counties, purely agricultural,) "the condition of night-schools makes no progress. I conceive that the *real difficulty still is to find teachers*. The clergyman must attend every night himself to sustain the thing ; and this is often impossible. At the same time I am satisfied that the demand, or at any rate the necessity, for night-schools is increasing, not diminishing. We cannot keep our day boys longer at school than we used to do ; and every year multiplies the situations which cannot be held except by persons possessed of a certain amount of scholarship. Among my own young men, who are not at all of a high type, I find great avidity for instruction, a sense of the value of learning, and much thankfulness for the opportunity afforded them."

I have now brought forward three authorities on this subject, one speaking for factory districts, another for other town districts, and the third for rural districts.

It will be seen that the difficulty of finding teachers presses most heavily on the last, the rural parishes ; indeed, it is their only serious difficulty. The difficulty of getting young people to attend is undoubtedly greatest in the second, the ordinary town districts, where the hours of the labourer are very irregular, (far more so than in factories or in agriculture,) and where there are many competing attractions.

The difficulties of any sort are, I think, least in the factory districts, and there, in point of fact, all our most flourishing night-schools are to be found. The regularity of the hours of labour all the year round renders it possible to keep the evening-school open all through the twelve months, and so makes it worth while to engage a trained teacher specially for the purpose : while the high rate of wages enables the managers to charge such fees as will go far to pay his salary. These schools being easily brought under inspection are profiting largely by the capitation grants under the Revised Code.

This group, therefore, I dismiss, and confine my concluding observations to evening-schools in ordinary towns not under the provisions of any factory law, and rural parishes. Here the night school can only be carried on in the six winter months ; great energy is needed to get the young people to attend ; and it is difficult to find a teacher of the requisite efficiency. The only practical solution is, that the whole burden is thrown on some zealous volunteer, and, when no such is forthcoming, the night-school breaks down.

Where are we to find the right sort of teachers ?

How are we to pay them ?

To these two questions I now address myself.

To the first question I answer unhesitatingly with Mr Fraser,

we must render the day-school staff of teachers available for the night-school. "Schools may meet three times daily," the Revised Code says. We must henceforth let this be distinctly understood in engaging our certificated teachers, we hold them responsible for the evening-school as well as the day-school. But how do this without overtasking their strength? "Give up the afternoon school," Mr Fraser says; but for this I am not prepared. But that it may well be so shortened and lightened during the winter months as to leave the head teacher fresh for the evening I am persuaded. Let it be cut down to two hours, the last hour or half hour is often a drowsy one, and not worth much. Let the boys have some work corresponding to the girls' needlework;—this I have often wished for other reasons. I would break up all the classes, and let the boys sit at their desks, each individually occupied either in private study—and we are not half careful enough to teach our school children the habit of private study—or in mapping, drawing, book-keeping, and the like. Where the latter kind of occupation was adopted, the results might be shown to the parents and patrons of the school at the annual exhibition about Easter. The master would be present, and, in the course of the afternoon, should give the whole school a good drilling for a quarter of an hour in their playground, or a singing lesson, or both; but on these afternoons there should be no direct teaching on his part, merely superintendence. The youngest boys might be in a class-room under an assistant, or learning to knit with the girls. Thus the afternoons of three or four days of the week on which the night-school met might be greatly lightened, with no loss, but as I believe rather a gain to the day scholars. Under the Revised Code the master is allowed to teach his pupil teachers, if he have any, during the night-school hours. Three hours of steady lesson work in the morning, two light hours, such as I have described, in the afternoon, and an hour and a half of

night-school need overtask no healthy man. It would be much less than the daily work of an assistant-master at Eton, Harrow, or Rugby. In the case of schoolmistresses, it would seldom be difficult to find volunteers in the parish who would assist them in their needlework, and so lighten very materially their afternoon labour.

I now come to the question of expense. Any master thus undertaking an evening-school during the winter months should have £15 added to his income ; a mistress should have £10.

The fuel and lighting of the schoolroom for an evening-school of 30 or 40, would average about £3 or £4 for the winter. Stationery, beyond what the scholars would buy for themselves, would vary from £1 to £2. As the numbers increased, paid assistants would be needed, one such for a night-school of 30, two for a night-school of 45, and so on, allowing a teacher for every 15 scholars. These assistants would in most places be abundantly paid at the rate of 1s. or 1s. 6d. a night—say £5 for the season. They would be, naturally, selected from the most promising old scholars of the day-school, youths of sixteen or seventeen, who had got superior situations—some such almost every parish with a good school can show. I calculate that the night scholars' fees ought, exactly, to cover the expense of these assistant teachers, and of the fuel and lights. Thus the varying element in the income cancels the varying element in the expenditure. The payments of the first 15 scholars would cover the expense of lights and of one fire ; every additional 15 would require, and would pay for, one additional assistant teacher, and a very slight additional outlay in light and fuel. Thus, the only expense to be otherwise provided for is the lump of £15 to the master or £10 to the mistress. For this I look to the Government grant, the whole of which might be given to the teacher, perhaps, in lieu of any fixed sum. For night-schools, Government offers 2s.

6d. a head on the average attendance, and an additional 5s. for every scholar who has attended twenty-four times, and passes, *in any grade*, in reading, writing, and cyphering.

But here we come to what on the first issue of the Revised Code seemed to be a grand difficulty: *How are night schools to be inspected?* They only meet in the winter months; and half of our schools are, of course, inspected in the summer months. They only meet in the evenings; and the inspector can seldom stay and spend his evening in the place. Then there is a difficulty, sometimes, in persuading these backward young people to present themselves for examination to a gentleman from London.

In February 1865, the Education Department removed this difficulty by adopting my suggestion that night-schools should be examined simultaneously, once in the year, on the system of sealed papers, adopted by the Society of Arts with such perfect success. Two responsible persons are nominated for each school, to guarantee, by their attendance, the integrity of the examination; the Education Department sends to them, by the previous post, a printed paper of questions in arithmetic, and passages for dictation for each grade, together with instructions as to the exercise in reading and elementary writing. Those presented in the three lower standards do their work with a lead pencil; those in the three upper with pen and ink; but all *on paper*. On each student's paper is marked, also, whether he passed or failed to pass in reading. These papers—signed by the teacher, and countersigned by the managers, as *bonâ fide* the work of those whose names they respectively bore—are there and then sealed up in a packet, and sent to the inspector, who upon these results is able, on the occasion of his next inspection of the day-school, after conversation with the night-school teacher, and after careful scrutiny of the registers and copy-books, to fill up his report on the night-school. Thus all

evening schools have the advantage of being examined at their usual place and hour of meeting, and that, too, in the best month of the year, at the close of their winter session. The difficulty, moreover, of getting the scholars to present themselves for examination to a stranger is thus avoided.

Thus, the problem of bringing the evening schools within the operation of the Revised Code has been solved. And this solves the financial difficulty. The pence and grant together may realise about 10s. a head per scholar in a fairly successful night-school; and this, where the numbers in average attendance exceed thirty, would make the evening-school, in a great measure, self-supporting; an additional £5 might be needed for the assistant teacher. A smaller school would, of course, make a rather heavier demand on the subscription fund; but in no case need the deficit in the night-school balance-sheet exceed £10.

By working this system it is my hope that we may be able to reinvigorate the evening-school. With the encouragement and pecuniary assistance of these grants, it ought to form a very important part of every school establishment. One of the wishes of the day (if I may so speak) will thus be realised. An evident need will be met. The night-school, instead of a burden and anxiety to the clergyman, will become one of his greatest pleasures. And an accession of strength will accrue to our parochial system, by thus bringing into direct relations with those who have their good most at heart, the very class whom it is confessedly most difficult to reach—I mean the young unmarried labourers of our towns and villages.

CHAPTER VII.

PRIZE SCHEMES.

IN dealing with questions which depend for their solution on practical experience, it is well sometimes, in the absence of ascertained principles, to put forward a theory, which, whether it ultimately stand or fall, may serve in the meantime to provoke discussion and to direct inquiry.

As far as I am aware, the subject of rewards, as a part of the philosophy of education, has never been satisfactorily cleared up.* At all events I find the greatest possible diversity of opinion respecting their application, and very few of the teachers or school managers with whom I have spoken on the subject have been able to give any clear or consistent reasons for the course they have chosen to pursue. The following are some of the principal points on which I have found people divided :—

1. Whether it might not be better to abolish prizes altogether, as tending to substitute lower motives for higher motives.
2. Whether feelings of emulation were to be encouraged or discouraged.

* The question was opened in a very sprightly controversy which appeared in the pages of the "English Journal of Education" some quarter of a century ago, and is handled in several of the manuals of education which have more recently appeared ; but most of the essays on the subject that I have happened to read have seemed to labour under one of two faults—an unpractical stoicism which would refuse to admit any secondary motives, or a confusion of emulation with jealousy.

3. Whether prizes should be given for moral or for intellectual excellence chiefly.

4. Whether religious knowledge was a matter for which prizes should be given.

5. Whether prizes should be given in money or in books.

6. Whether a few large prizes or many small prizes were best.

I shall not hesitate to put the conclusions to which I have been led by my experience of the working of prize schemes into a dogmatic form, not because of the importance I attach to them, but simply because this form will best facilitate their discussion.

By stating briefly the way in which these questions have been from time to time forced on my attention, I shall sufficiently indicate the train of thought through which I have arrived at my present notions on the subject.

Before the institution of the Staffordshire Prize Scheme I had often observed how well a system of rewards seemed to answer in one school, and how mischievous they appeared to be in another. Generally speaking, I found a disposition to retain them among old-fashioned teachers, and a wish to abolish them on the part of the more skilled class of teachers. On further inquiry, it most frequently appeared that they were disapproved by these latter persons, not from any absolute objection to the principle of rewards, but because the importunity of parents and the good nature of school patrons were almost sure to lead to their abuse. Prizes given on exhibition days, according to the results of a public examination, were beginning to be almost everywhere condemned as fostering conceit, and as being in two cases out of three unjustly awarded. The form which was most generally approved was a reward in the shape of a book given for a certain number of marks or tickets for good conduct or place in class, gained

during the preceding year or half-year. The most complete example of this system that came under my notice was at the Belmont Patent Candle Factory, where every kind of good conduct seemed to have its proportionate reward attached to it in the shape of farthing counters, for which books were given at the end of the year. What I there saw led me into a correspondence with Mr James Wilson, whose authority, in any matter connected with the moral training of youth, is of the highest value. He did not admit the force of my objection that this system tended to enervate the moral principle, urging scriptural warranty for it, and contending that what was done at first for the sake of a prize would soon become habitual, and the habit being once formed would be persevered in from higher motives.

When the Staffordshire Prize Scheme was established, it became my business to frame rules for its administration; they will be found in my special report for 1852. In each succeeding year, in the constitution of new prize schemes, or the revision of their rules, I was confronted, as it were, with the subject; and on each occasion I consulted the opinions of the teachers, and ascertained as far as I could what the effects had been on individual children.

In these ways my notions on the subject have been slowly acquiring form. I shall state them, for the reasons mentioned above, under distinct heads, in the inverse order to that in which for the most part they occurred to me.

In every society there will be found among its members the most various degrees of attainment in what is good; and in most societies common consent or public opinion will be found to have fixed, rightly or wrongly, a certain level, above which the several degrees are measured in order of *merit*, and below which they are measured in an order of *demerit*.

Now, it is clearly the interest of a society to encourage its members to rise above this level, and to deter them from falling below it. And not only so, but society requires, for its own satisfaction as it were, to express publicly its approval of more than ordinary merit, and its indignation at great demerit.

Hence arise systems of reward and punishment.

The purpose of rewards is to assert and raise as high as possible the standard of what is good. The purpose of punishments is to condemn and diminish as much as possible what is bad. Each has its own range, if I may so speak, on the moral scale; and it is highly important that the range of the one should be kept distinct from that of the other.

Hence my first practical rule for the right use of rewards* in the education of children:—

RULE I.—“You should not reward children for doing what you would punish them for leaving undone.”

It is due, I believe, to the neglect of this rule that rewards have in so many instances defeated their proper purpose, and tended to lower, instead of to raise, the standard of what is good. And yet the rule when stated seems so simple as almost to be implied in the terms used.

If it is a *merit* to have reached any given degree of excellence, it cannot properly be a *disgrace* to have failed to reach it; and, conversely, if it is *disgraceful* to fall below a given standard, it ought not to be accounted very *meritorious* to attain it.

Even if the authorities of a school confuse the two, the shrewd logic of the children will keep them well apart. “If doing this deserve a prize, it cannot be so very bad to leave it undone.” The more the teacher—from a mistaken wish to encourage a greater number—pulls down his standard of what

* Here, and wherever I have used the term, I wish *material rewards* to be understood.

is creditable, the more will the children push down their standard of what is discreditable ; and thus the sure consequence of making prizes too cheap is to demoralise your school.

The simplest and most obvious way of guarding against this depreciation of the prize is to adopt the principle of competition, whereby the candidates, in their efforts to surpass one another, themselves push up the standard. But this principle is open to the objection that it makes each one's loss his neighbour's gain.

I am content, therefore, to secure a sufficiently high standard of excellence by providing that it be readjusted from time to time with special reference to the following rule :—

RULE II.—“ Prizes should not be attainable without positive effort.”

I hold this rule to be of the greatest importance, because in this *effort* lies, I conceive, the moral value of prize schemes. When this rule is observed, the examination becomes a trial of strength, a struggle after excellence ; it stirs all that is most generous in a child, and whether he gain the prize or not, he has tasted a new pleasure,—a pleasure that will not soon be forgotten,—the pleasure of putting forth his best energies, one of the most valuable experiences that can be given to a child in the whole course of his education.

I now come to a point which to some may seem open to question, but which to me appears to admit of little doubt, if Rules I. and II. be conceded.

Should prizes be given for moral excellence? The duty of making children understand the immeasurable superiority of moral excellence over intellectual excellence, renders this a most important question.

I answer, that *indirectly* they may be, and must be, connected with moral excellence. For the very effort which they

ought to require, according to Rule II., is a moral one ; and the previous training, which in a well-constructed prize scheme success always implies, is a moral training,—involving punctuality in attending school, industry while there, honesty in doing their own work, and other moral habits. *And on this ground, therefore, in schools for children, I should object to a prize which could be won by mere cleverness, without necessarily indicating any of these moral qualities.* But *directly*, and apart from other qualifications, I hold that moral excellence ought not to bring a prize. My reasons may be very briefly expressed. In moral matters there can only be a right and a wrong. The *wrong* should always be put before children as something that deserves punishment ; and, consequently, according to Rule I., the *right* should not receive a prize. Rewarded it always will be, in a right state of things, by the approval of the teacher, and by that happiest of all feelings that a child can have—the feeling that he is more and more winning his teacher's confidence. But I am speaking throughout of material rewards in the shape of prizes. In this sense, therefore, I would say, that if idleness, falsehood, impurity, are punishable ; then industry, truthfulness, chastity, are not to be rewarded. The duty of being good is one of the earliest that a child may be expected to understand. The duty of intellectual exertion is seldom recognised until considerable progress has been made. Moreover, the value of virtue depends almost entirely on its being practised for its own sake ; whereas intellectual exertion bears valuable fruit from whatever motive it is made.

If the Gospel parables are quoted against me, as they have been, as affording high authority for directly rewarding moral excellence, I answer, these parables set forth a providential arrangement in God's world, which will, so far as He sees fit, extend itself to our little school world, without any intervention

on our part. We should mislead our children if we taught them to expect that as the Divine order connects holiness and happiness together *eternally*, so goodness would surely be followed by its reward in the affairs of daily life. Far more truly shall we interpret our Lord's teaching, if in all moral matters we accustom our children to say, when they have done all that is commanded them, "We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do."

I therefore deprecate entirely the practice of giving children prizes for good conduct, or for learning their daily lessons, as tending to enervate their sense of duty. It seems to imply that good behaviour is something exceptional; whereas good behaviour ought to be put before them as the rule, and misbehaviour as the exception. Indeed, the very way in which persons who wish to give prizes for good conduct are forced to measure it, viz., by the comparative fewness of the faults recorded, seems to be a confession that it is at best a negative good; and, if so, it is enough that, so far as mere outward effects go, it should exempt from punishment, without entitling to reward.

Now I can conceive no punishment for misbehaviour so just or appropriate as exclusion from opportunities of distinction that are open to all the rest. And, therefore, while I would make the award of prizes exclusively depend on the intellectual acquirements of the candidates, I would take care that children of bad character were rigorously excluded from becoming candidates.

I hope I have made it plain that I am perfectly consistent in replying to the question raised about moral excellence by the two following rules:—

RULE III.—Prizes should not be given for good behaviour.*

* One possible exception occurs to me, but it belongs rather to home or

RULE IV.—Children of bad character should be excluded from competition.

Where the examiner is not the same person as the school-teacher, it is a matter of no slight difficulty to determine the best form for the certificate of character. It must be free from ambiguity, and yet not too peremptory, else qualifications will be added by those who have to sign it, which will involve the examiner in endless perplexity.

The form adopted in our Staffordshire examinations was the following :—

“———— bears a good character, and has been attentive to his [or her] religious duties.”

And to this the following note was appended :—

“*N.B.*—The responsibility of determining whether a candidate deserves this certificate or not must rest with the minister and teacher. No qualified certificate can be accepted. It is the earnest wish of those who give these prizes, that no children should be admitted to the examination who have not shown, during the past year, at least a marked endeavour to merit the approbation of their pastors and teachers.”

I now come to the question, “What is the most appropriate subject-matter for prize examinations?” One answer is self-evident ; it must be something in which excellence can be justly and definitely measured. And this simple condition will limit our choice much more than people not practically conversant with the work of examining might be disposed to imagine. If the violation of Rule I. explains the ill effects that have attended prizes in many cases, the neglect of this

nursery education than to that of a school ; I mean the case of an individual child, where some bad habit is to be broken, and where the effort required is so great and so definite that a prize might be allowed according to the spirit of Rule II. ; but I should wish to regard it as a concession to the child’s low moral state in respect to some one particular duty.

obvious principle, of not attempting more than can be really well done, has caused the mischief in many more. It were better, a hundred times, to have no prizes, than that the children should go away with an impression that the prizes have been determined very much by chance.

From my experience in conducting the examinations that have taken place in connexion with these prize schemes—hardly one of which has been free from some instructive blunder—I put forward the following suggestions with some degree of confidence :—

RULE V.—“Where the result of an examination is to be a classification of the candidates, the examination should be confined to some one subject, or, at most, to some one class of kindred subjects.”

The following are my chief reasons for this rule :—

1. Where many subjects are included, the examiner must adopt his own rate of valuation for the several kinds of merit shown ; and this rate is sure to appear to some arbitrary and unfair. There will always be some who will say the result is unfair, because a higher value ought to have been assigned to this or that subject. What is arbitrary should be, as far as possible, excluded from these awards.

2. If several departments of school work form the subjects for examination, the absence of any one becomes a marked thing, and gives rise to an inference that the examiners do not attach to it much importance. The only way of avoiding this evil is, either to examine in all (which would occupy many days) or to make it quite plain upon the face of the prize, that it only professes to certify excellence in some specific subject.

3. My third reason is to be found in the moral effect of success upon the children.

If the examination is limited to some one subject, (say arith-

metic,) every one knows what the prize means. It proclaims the bearer to be excellent as an arithmetician. If, on the contrary, the examination includes many subjects, no one knows precisely what the prize means; and not knowing whether it means this thing or that thing or the other thing, people go away with the loose notion that it means all, and that the boy is so good a scholar that he cannot have much more to learn.

Now I ask every one who is accustomed to children, whether they have not found a reputation of the first kind good and stimulating in its effects, and a reputation of the second kind apt to foster conceit? The explanation of these opposite effects lies, I believe, in this,—in the one case the child knows that people give him credit for what he really has; in the other case, he is conscious that people impute to him a good deal that he has not, and he is strongly tempted to accept the credit so given,—in other words, to pretend to excellences that he does not possess. Just praise invigorates, but flattery ruins a child.

The intention of Rule V. would also require, that where the range of any subject is considerable, either the examination should be confined to some special department of it, sufficient notice of this having been previously given; or a large choice of questions should be proposed, a small number only being required to be answered. The necessity of this caution, to exclude the risk of chance, is obvious.

The question is often asked, "What is the best kind of prize for the children of an elementary school?" Some, I find, object altogether to a money prize; and if by this is meant a present of pocket-money, I entirely agree that this is the worst kind of prize that can be given. Nine people out of ten wish to make the prize an occasion for putting something instructive into the way of the child, and choose,

therefore, the most useful book they can find. I am almost disposed to think that this is a mistake. The book may be read, or it may not; it may suit the child's taste, or it may not: it may be carefully treasured, or it may soon be lost. There is, as it seems to me, one paramount consideration that should guide us in the choice of the prize, and this forms my Sixth Rule :—

RULE VI.—The prize should be of a kind to make a lasting impression upon the child.

The kind of prize that I myself prefer is one that is purely honorary,—one that never can be diverted to any other use,—one that is, and must ever be, a prize, and nothing but a prize; such as a medal of intrinsic beauty. But I would not forbid either money prizes or books; they should be subject, however, to these conditions:—

1. If money is given, it must be of such amount as to put its immediate expenditure out of the question; so large as to carry with it, perforce of its size, a sense of responsibility—a feeling of *property*; and it should be accompanied with a recommendation that it should be placed in a savings-bank, and the teacher should take occasion to give the child a lesson on interest and investment. This feeling of having become a *proprietor* is probably something quite new to the child; it increases his self-respect, and initiates him into the pleasure of husbandry. Many a shilling will be added to this store, which it would otherwise have seemed hardly worth while to lay by, and a habit is formed which will be invaluable in after-life. Our experience of the working of the money prizes in Staffordshire quite warrants the belief that a sum of £3 or £5 may be safely placed in the hands of a boy of twelve years old, where a sum of 5s. or 10s. would be almost sure to be wasted.

2. If a book is given, I would suggest that it ought to be, if possible, a large heavy book—a quarto Bible, for instance.

Its very size makes a strong impression on the child, and at the same time renders it almost impossible that it should be lost.

3. Far better than either, for boys, would be an exhibition to some school of higher instruction.*

I need hardly say, that I much prefer a few valuable prizes to many small ones.

I have already occupied far too much space with this subject; but, before I dismiss it, I wish to enter a short but emphatic protest against two objections to the use of prizes, which, as they profess to be grounded on principle, deserve to be treated with respect, although in the present day one is almost weary of that much abused phrase "on principle."

Some object to giving prizes, as being a system of *bribery*; others object to them as fostering *emulation*, which they consider unchristian.

Both objections rest, as it seems to me, not "on principle," but on a confusion of thought.

The hateful character of a bribe does not consist in its being a mercenary inducement to action, else the hiring of labourers were gross bribery; but, in this, that it is a mercenary inducement to some action that is *wrong*. If it is morally wrong to excel in arithmetic, then to offer a prize for arithmetic is bribery.

So with respect to emulation or rivalry. The proper meaning of the words I take to be, *an ardent desire to equal or to surpass another*. Now there are obviously two ways of equalling or surpassing another: one is to raise yourself up to his level, or above it; the other is, to pull him down to your level, or below it. If emulation mean the latter, it is as un-

* See my suggestions for the promotion of *technical* schools in the following chapter.

christian a feeling as can be ; if it mean the former, I see nothing unchristian in it ; on the contrary, I find it not unfrequently appealed to by our Lord and His apostles. If any one says, "Could I feel sure that the feeling would take the first form, I should not object : but is there not a risk of its taking the second ?" I answer, undoubtedly there is, just as there is a risk of the prize being gained by deceit. But to give up prizes on this account would be not a whit more reasonable than to abandon punishments because the wrong feeling of anger might possibly be mixed up with the right feeling of shame, or to relinquish any other means of good, because it might possibly be mingled with evil.

Such are my views on the subject of school prizes. They may be briefly summed up in this way :—

The right purpose of school prizes is to stimulate children to more than ordinary exertion ; and this chiefly in matters where you could not well expect them, at their age, to understand *the duty* of such exertion. And further, prizes should be, as far as possible, attached to excellence in specific subjects, and should be of a kind calculated to make a lasting impression.

CHAPTER VIII.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION.

By technical instruction (the phrase is not a very happy one) is, I suppose, meant that province of education which enables the workman to use, not his hand and eye only, but his mind also upon his work. The distinction is an important one, and very noticeable. A farmer has in his employment two carters—they are equally strong, equally steady—but one is worth to his employer fifty per cent. more than the other. Somehow, the first gets half again as much work out of his horses as the second. How is this? Watch them loading their carts; one throws half the load on the back of the shaft-horse, the other places the weight evenly over the axle: one so couples a second horse that half his work is spent in dragging down the shoulder of the first, the other so adjusts the traces that he pulls directly at the load. In a word, one uses his mind, the other cannot. Or, again, there are two builders in your village—equally skilful in the use of their tools—one of the two it is quite a pleasure to have about your house; you find in him just the sort of adviser you want. “Shall this or that improvement be made?” He takes out his rule, and not only his rule (that the other could do) but his paper and pencil also, estimates his quantities, and tells you on the spot the comparative cost. You are alarmed by the bulge or “buckling out” of a wall; he can not only rebuild it, that the other could do, but also counteract at once the thrust which caused it. In short,

he understands something of the principles of construction : he brings *mind* to bear upon his work. It is needless to multiply illustrations. England is more and more awakening to the fact that in a thousand ways she is wasting her resources—her resources in raw material, as well as her resources in time and muscle—for want of more intelligence in their employment. Those fires at the coal-pit mouth, the volumes of heat and fuel thrown up our chimneys, the bad quality of our gas, the incrustation of our boilers, the frequent accidents in our mines or in the use of machinery, our slowness to adopt new inventions, (such as the reaping machine, or the Davy lamp, or the electric light, or Bessemer's process in metallurgy,) and most of all, the extreme difficulty of finding properly qualified *over-men* in all provinces of manufacture, all these are signs of the want amongst us of what is called "technical instruction."

And what is the consequence? Listen to the almost unanimous opinion of the jurors whom we sent to the Paris Exhibition in 1867 :—

"We have especially noted the progress of other nations in those mechanical and constructive arts and trades in which in 1851 England exhibited pre-eminent excellence. We have to record that in many of these some other nations appear to have made much more rapid progress than ourselves, so that we are *relatively* falling off. And we specially note that our falling off is not in unimportant departments, but in some of those which formerly constituted our staple excellence ; for instance, in steel and iron steam-machinery, locomotive engines, tools, manufacturing machinery in general."

Then as to the cause of this :—

"We have not failed to notice that it is precisely those nations which have been systematically giving a course of preparatory training and education to their population in their skilled trades, that have shown the most marked progress in

national industry in these successive exhibitions ;—Prussia, Switzerland, Belgium, France, seem to make progress in proportion to their excellence of educational training ; Prussia in steel, iron, and general engineering work ; Switzerland in scientific engineering, machinery, watch and telegraph work, and in textile manufactures ; Belgium in metal-working and mechanical trades ; France in metal-work, and in steam-engines, engineering structures, naval architecture, and in steam-navigation.”

Such is the verdict of some of the eminent men who, in 1867, examined the Exhibition in the Champ de Mars. What, then, is needed on our part ? We must teach our youths intended to be craftsmen those branches of applied science which relate most nearly to the principles of their future craft.

It is important to define very exactly the kind of instruction that is needed to make an intelligent artisan. It is a kind of instruction that must touch the elementary school on the one side, and the workshop on the other. This is its range ; and to this range it must be limited. Now, what are these limits ?

1. A boy leaves the elementary school at twelve, and must enter the workshop, say, at fifteen. His course of technical instruction must be such as a boy of that age can master in three years. Here is one practical limit.

2. Again, it must not require any preparation beyond what an average village school supplies ; in other words, the first steps in technical instruction must be such as a boy can master who has learned little or nothing beyond reading, writing, and arithmetic. Here is a second limit obliging us to be modest in our programme. For I am very sure that to ask of the primary school any further preparation in the way of natural philosophy or the like, would be altogether in vain.

3. While our course should embrace nothing but what has a direct bearing on the boy's future work, it must not trespass

on the workshop. Technical instruction does not imply the practice of an art, nor even the learning of an art. Here is a third limit, reminding us that no amount of science-teaching can supersede the need of apprenticeship.

These three limits will be found to define very exactly what we want and what we do not want.

Most emphatically, we do not want pure science as taught in our universities. The physical sciences as taught in the universities are too abstract, their professors are too fastidious, for our purpose. On the other hand, as emphatically, we do not want the mere teaching of empirical rules. The commercial teachers, to whom (if to any one) our artisans have hitherto looked for their training, have only loaded the memory, without awakening the intelligence. What we do want is something intermediate between the two,—the teaching of such elementary principles as are involved in the processes of skilled labour tending to convert the mere workman into the artisan properly so called. "*Applied Science*" is perhaps the best term. It is precisely here that we English people are weak. Philosophy we have in abundance ; manual skill we possess abundantly. But we have not bridged over the interval between the two. On the contrary, there is a dead wall separating our men of theory from our men of practice. This wall must be taken down, and in its stead we must build up *schools of applied science*.

The subject-matter of their lessons will, from what I have said, be obvious to any one conversant with the requirements of skilled labour.

For instance :

Mensuration is an "applied science," connecting together the pure truths of geometry with the business of a surveyor.

Perspective brings the results of the science of optics to bear on the work of the draughtsman.

Commercial arithmetic applies the abstract formulæ of algebra to the purposes of the counting-house.

Engineering manuals, founded on the French principle of "work done," adapt the pure philosophy of statics and dynamics to problems of construction and machinery.

And so forth.

What is wanted therefore is this :

1st. Really good *manuals* of applied science. Some we have as good as can be desired, some greatly need improvement, some are altogether wanting. These manuals should all be so framed as to take up the pupil at the point where the elementary school leaves him, and carry him onward.

2d. Teachers really competent to give lessons on these manuals. And, for the supply of such teachers, one or more normal colleges, such as that of Cluny in France, are needed. For he who is to teach with real simplicity must himself know much more than he actually conveys to the pupil. He must teach as a master, not as a scribe. He will then infuse so much of principle into his lesson as will serve to arouse the intelligence of his pupil, and create in him a reverence for knowledge. A really excellent teacher hardly ever turns out conceited pupils.

3d. Schools where teachers so trained may give lessons on these manuals ; schools, in short, of "technical instruction."

All this is being done under the energetic direction of M. Duruy in France.

The law of 21 June 1865, ("*Organisation de l'enseignement secondaire spécial*,") with the supplementary decrees which followed it, created—

1st. A Superior Council* at Paris, under the presidency of the Minister of Instruction, and consisting of some of the most eminent men in France. Among the names may be found M. Dumas, member of the Institute and founder of the "Central

* "*Conseil de perfectionnement*."

School of Arts and Manufactures ;" M. Charles Robert, Secretary of the Ministry of Instruction ; General Morin, the well-known director of the " Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers ;" M. Dollfus, of Mulhouse, one of the most enlightened manufacturers in Europe ; M. Ph. Pompée, founder of the Professional School of Ivry ; M. Marguerin, Director of the Turgot School. Subordinate to this, provincial Councils are also established, reporting annually to the Superior Council, and intended to give local requirements their due weight in the administration. These councils will superintend the selection of manuals and the programmes of studies.

2d. A normal college at Cluny, for the training of teachers, supported partly by State grants, and partly by exhibitions contributed by the several departments, and partly by the payment of self-paying students. None can enter it under the age of eighteen, nor over the age of twenty-five. The course of instruction occupies two years at least, and may be extended to a third year. It embraces all the sciences bearing on agriculture, manufactures, mines, and commerce. Juries of examiners are constituted both for the admission of students and for the award of the final diploma, without which no teacher can undertake charge of a school of special secondary instruction. The college occupies an old Benedictine Abbey, " where there still linger the precious memories of piety, science, and industry," (to a French ecclesiastic there must be a sound of irony in this passage of the decree,) and where (this is perhaps more to the purpose) they will have within easy reach the vineyards and corn-fields of Burgundy, the great manufacturing centre of Creuzot, the silk mills of Lyons, and the mines of Saint Etienne.

The State has granted £3000, and the Department of Saône-et-Loire (in which Cluny is situated) £4000 (besides the Abbey) for the establishment of this normal college ; fifty-

five departments have already voted exhibitions out of their rates for the support of students ; or rather, it seems, in most cases have appropriated to this purpose exhibitions already voted, but not needed, for their departmental training schools of primary instruction.

3d. A circular to the prefects, dated 1st June 1866, called their attention to the fact that there were then in France, available for the purposes of special secondary instruction, 251 communal colleges, where 12,000 students were already under instruction, only needing specifically trained teachers such as Cluny would, in a few years, be sending forth. There were also, throughout France, 25,000 evening classes, attended by 600,000 youths or adults. At present these evening classes are mostly occupied in making good the deficiencies of early elementary education, and are conducted, for the most part, by the certificated teachers of primary schools. But M. Duruy expresses a confident hope that in a few years teachers of applied science may find, in these evening classes, abundant opportunity of spreading this kind of instruction over France.

Such is the enormous development which France is just now giving to that commercial and technical instruction hitherto given with such admirable results, though within far narrower area, by the Polytechnic School, the Conservatoire, and the Central School "*des Arts et Manufactures*."

In Belgium, for ninety years, the education of engineers, foremen (*contre-mâîtres*), and mine agents, has been, to a limited extent, provided for by the "*Ecole des Arts et Manufactures, et des Mines*," annexed to the Liège University. I am told that it is in all respects a model school of the kind. Fifteen years ago, in a tour through the mining districts of Belgium, I remarked again and again the superiority of their "*sous-officiers*," as compared with the men holding a similar position in England.

The complete organisation which France is now giving to

this kind of training was accomplished in Prussia eleven years ago, by M. Van der Heydt, the then Minister for Trade Manufacture and Public Works. Since that date none can be admitted to any post of responsibility without being certificated by one or other of the gymnasiums or higher citizen-schools which are entitled by government to hold "dismissal examinations," (*Entlassungs Prüfungen.*)

Let us now turn our eyes homewards, and observe what machinery we have already existing for these purposes, and inquire where specially it needs extension or modification.

First and foremost, we have our three admirable science schools in London :—

1. The Royal School of Mines in Jermyn Street, in connexion with our unrivalled Geological Museum.

2. The Royal School of Naval Architecture and Marine Engineering, under the able direction of Mr Merrifield and Dr Woolley.

3. The Royal College of Chemistry, of which the late Prince Consort was the first president.

With these may be grouped—

4. The College of Science, in Dublin,

5. The Glasnevin Agricultural Training College, near Dublin,

6. The Agricultural College at Cirencester.

All these are excellent, and might be made at once available for the purposes of Cluny and Liége if local exhibitions to them could be established.

In the staff of the Science Department, at South Kensington, we have at once the nucleus of a "superior central council," as well as an already existing machinery for holding simultaneous examinations all over the country. But this council would need to be largely recruited, not from the universities, but from the ranks of our great engineers, metallurgists, and manufacturers.

With such infusion of a yet more practical element into the counsels of the South Kensington Museum, their present system of annual simultaneous examinations might be continued and strengthened.

It is not sufficiently known by the general public what a large measure of success has already attended these examinations. They are held in May each year.

The eighth annual examination of teachers was attended by 333 candidates for certificates as science-teachers, and of these 198 were successful. The number of teachers who now hold these science certificates is about 620, so that to some extent we have for our country anticipated the results of Cluny. Examinations of young people were held, in May 1866, in 121 provincial and 13 metropolitan centres. The number examined was 3150, the examination being conducted by local committees on papers prepared and sent down by the authorities of South Kensington, and by them revised. Captain Donnelly gives in his report an interesting analysis of the work done, from which it appears that inorganic chemistry is the favourite study, and next to that elementary mathematics, practical plane and descriptive geometry, and mechanical drawing.

Almost the whole number of these young people (2980 out of 3150) had received their instruction from certificated teachers, either in science schools or in evening classes. Of the science schools, (of which there are now about 200 in the country, with about 8000* pupils,) the most successful were—

1. Hull Navigation School, which took 96 prizes, 3 gold, 1 silver, and 1 bronze medals.
2. Bristol Diocesan Trade School, (reorganised some twelve years ago by Canon Moseley,) which took 83 prizes, 1 gold, 2 silver, and two bronze medals: and

* See Postscript.

3. The Manchester Mechanics' Institute, which took 82 prizes, 2 silver and 2 bronze medals.

The following also are mentioned very favourably :—

The Oldham Science and Art School.	Bethnal Green National School.
Newtownards Model School.	Islington Lower Road Public School.
Oldcastle Endowed School.	Plumstead Burrage Road School.
Santry Training School.	Plymouth Science School.
Glasgow Secular School.	Stroud Institute.
Bolton Mechanics' Institute.	

Here manifestly a good beginning has been made. But it must be remembered that of these 200 schools, which appear as "science schools" in the South Kensington reports, most are schools of general instruction, whose teachers, having obtained science certificates, in addition to their other certificates, can claim the aid of the Science and Art Department. On a change of teacher, any of these schools may cease to be included in this list. It is only by courtesy that we term them science schools, and rank them with those that are specifically instituted for the teaching of science, such as those at Bristol, Hull, Oldham, Plymouth. Clearly, to satisfy the needs of the country, we want something less precarious than this. Nor do I think that this kind of instruction can well be grafted on to that of an elementary school. Those whose philanthropy or Christian zeal makes them the best possible managers of our elementary schools are not likely to be the best directors of scientific instruction. Nor would it be fair to ask of the voluntary system that it should undertake so large an addition to the task which is already overstraining its resources. I do not see why our town councils should not be empowered to levy a rate for the establishment of these schools of applied science in all

our centres of manufacturing industry. The increased prosperity of their trade, which here, as well as in Belgium, Prussia, and Switzerland, would surely follow the development of their workpeople's intelligence, would abundantly repay the money so spent ; while, in a few years, if we may judge by our Bristol experience, these schools would be almost self-supporting.

POSTSCRIPT.—8000 was the number under instruction in May 1866 ; in May 1867 the number had risen to 10,000. An analysis of the numbers (1.) under instruction, (2.) examined in the several subjects, is subjoined :—

SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT.

SCIENCE EXAMINATIONS, MAY 1867.

Number of Subject.	NAME OF SUBJECT.	Number under Instruction.	Number Examined.
I.	Practical Plane and Descriptive Geometry .	1749	786
II.	Mechanical and Machine Drawing . .	1409	765
* { III.	Building Construction	862	467
III.	Naval Architecture	...	I
IV.	Elementary Mathematics	1436	854
V.	Higher Mathematics	41	47
VI.	Theoretical Mechanics	433	229
VII.	Applied Mechanics	165	112
VIII.	Acoustics, Light and Heat	1443	609
IX.	Magnetism and Electricity	1434	728
X.	Inorganic Chemistry	2380	1110
XI.	Organic Chemistry	638	144
XII.	Geology	303	212
XIII.	Mineralogy	82	34
XIV.	Animal Physiology	1196	601
XV.	Zoology	591	130
XVI.	Vegetable Physiology and Economic Botany	257	103
XVII.	Systematic Botany	195	79
XVIII.	Mining	24	38
XIX.	Metallurgy	117	63
XX.	Navigation	672	169
XXI.	Nautical Astronomy	610	94
XXII.	Steam	166	121
XXIII.	Physical Geography	1349	941

* Alternative subject.

CHAPTER IX.

GIRLS' INDUSTRIAL TRAINING.

Is it true that good maid-servants are more scarce than they used to be? Is it true that the poor man's wife is a worse housekeeper than formerly? And if so, where does the fault lie? Is it traceable to the school? Are we *over*-educating, or are we *under*-educating girls? or is it that we are educating them in a wrong direction? Or does the blame rather rest with the parents, or with our farmers, or is it due to the rapid growth of our manufacturing system? And, lastly, if the school is in some measure in fault, how can we mend it? Should it be more industrial in its character? And, if so, how can it be made so?

These are the questions to which I wish to address myself. I have put them loosely, because it is in this loose form that one hears them mooted in conversation; and because, moreover, this chapter does not pretend to the exactness of an essay. And, by the way, it must be understood that, in speaking of a girls' school, I shall mean throughout an elementary day-school, such as one meets with in most of our parishes. I have had but little experience of other sorts of girls' schools, such as workhouse-schools, or the like, where girls are boarded and lodged, and employed chiefly in industrial work.

Any suggestions I may have to make are the result of many years' experience as an inspector of schools, during which time some hundreds of girls' schools—of the sort which nine out of ten of our labourers' and small shopkeepers' children attend—have yearly come under my notice. I have talked the matter

over in a great variety of places, with a great variety of people—in large manufacturing towns, in small country towns, in sea-coast villages, in mining districts, in grazing districts, in highly-farmed districts—with landed proprietors, with clergymen, with their wives, with teachers, with the children's parents ; so if my notions are erroneous, they certainly have not the excuse of being drawn from a limited field of observation.

At the outset, it must, I think, be confessed that a large number of people have a notion that our attempts to supply suitable training to the young women of the labouring class have been, judged by the results thus far, a failure.

Some say they are more conceited, more giddy, more idle than they used to be ; while others acquit them of being worse morally, but complain that they grow up with less knowledge of housework, and less taste for it than formerly. Let us consider these two complaints separately ; the one refers to a fault in their moral training, the other to a defect in what may be called their special or professional training.

And, with regard to the first, I am very sure, from all that I have gathered, that there is in the complaint a great deal of injustice and exaggeration. In cases where I have traced it home, I have generally found that it proceeds from masters or mistresses who might much more justly have blamed themselves for the misbehaviour of their servants. One who governs ill will be ill served. Careless masters or mistresses, who leave the choice and management of the under servants to an untrustworthy upper servant—farmers, who will wink at any amount of misbehaviour in a dairymaid who makes a good cheese—shopkeepers and the like, who engage the cheapest servants they can without ever asking for a character,—these people complain loudly, and no wonder, of the endless trouble they have with their servants, and of the difficulty of procuring good ones. Partly from idleness, partly from illiberality, they

ascribe it all to education ; “ making girls,” forsooth, “ independent,” and “ giving them notions above their station.”

Every generation has, I believe, complained in this way of servants. In the novels and plays of the last hundred years, or, still earlier, in the essays of the *Spectator* and *Tatler*, may be found proof that this complaint is nothing new. The elders of every generation have cried out against the conceit and new-fangled notions of the younger ones ; masters and mistresses have never failed to draw unfavourable comparisons between the faithful old domestics who caressed them in their childhood, and the troublesome servants they have to manage in their later life.

As regards, then, the complaint that servants are worse behaved than formerly, I am persuaded there is a vast deal of exaggeration in it ; and as to the cause assigned, that it proceeds from over-education, I am convinced it is the very opposite of the truth. I mean, that so far from the moral faults of this class proceeding from excess of education, it may, I think, be very clearly proved that they arise from a deplorable deficiency of education.

On this subject—the extent to which education has been carried in the present day—there are some widely erroneous notions abroad.

People whose knowledge of our schools and of what goes on in them comes chiefly from newspapers or blue-books, are apt to imagine that, since the introduction of the Government scheme twenty-five years ago, every young woman who has entered their service has been educated under this new system, and may be taken as a sample of its results.

Whereas, what is the actual state of the case ?

Thus far our improved system of education has trained about *one in five* of those old enough to enter service.

This is not a mere surmise, it is a careful inference from statistical inquiry.

Out of any hundred girls of the labouring class you will find, on an average, that some thirty have been at old-fashioned dames' schools in the country, or private "adventure" schools of a very inferior sort in the towns; of the other seventy, who have attended properly-constituted schools, you will find that at least thirty were just entered in their infancy, and were withdrawn by their parents in their eighth or ninth year—as soon as they could read words of two syllables, and write in a copy-book. Of the remaining forty, you will find that one-half attended so irregularly, and so continually unlearned at home what they learned at school, that the teacher entreats you not to consider them as fair samples of the school. Thus, of our hundred girls, twenty remain who may fairly be taken as representing the results of the improved system of education—girls who have for some years regularly attended a good school. Now, may not the teacher of one of these schools fairly ask that, before her school is blamed for the faults of one of these servant-girls of whom complaint is made, people should inquire to which of these groups she belonged?

It would greatly tend to set public opinion right in the matter of education, if people would be at the pains to ascertain, in every case where complaint is made, first, how much schooling, and next, what sort of schooling the young woman had received.

I took the trouble to make this inquiry myself a few years ago, in a neighbourhood where there was a general complaint among the small farmers that "education was ruining their servants."

I asked one who knew the neighbourhood well, and was himself a farmer, to ascertain for me, in six farmhouses where a servant-girl was kept, what her character was, and what schooling she had received.

The result well illustrates my subject. I will call the girls by the letters of the alphabet.

- A, aged 18, excellent worker, and very trustworthy ; reads fairly, writes but very little ; attended a small endowed village school for two years. Parents good ; father a farm labourer.
- B, aged 20, fair worker, character fair ; reads fairly, but can neither write nor read writing ; attended an inferior national school in a town. Parents honest, but very poor.
- C, aged 20, excellent worker, character indifferent ; can neither read nor write to be any profit to her ; attended, I believe, a national town school for a very short time. An orphan.
- D, aged 19, character bad, very refractory, sets all authority at defiance ; can read only ; attended a dame's school. Parents very poor.
- E, aged 17, morally bad, entirely void of self-respect ; reads and writes very fairly ; attended a village dame's school. Parents poor, and of bad character.
- F, aged 18, very indifferent ; reads and writes fairly ; attended a village dame's school.

These facts, taken from a rural part of Staffordshire, need no comment ; while they tend to justify the general complaint about farm-servants, they show, unquestionably, that in these cases, at all events, their faults were traceable, not to excess, but to a lamentable deficiency of education.

Those three latter cases will represent the sort of training which the majority of our young servants have received : they have attended small, irresponsible dames' schools, where the teacher filled her school by humouring the caprices and conceits of the children and their parents—calling her pupils "Miss So-and-so," and allowing them to spend half their time in crochet work or embroidery : no steady discipline, no good habits enforced, often no religious instruction given. What wonder that girls so trained turn out frivolous and conceited ? And yet these are the very schools which *we* are labouring to

supersede, and which the opponents of education will persist in encouraging.

I sum up this part of my subject, therefore, by conceding that there is much ground for complaint as to the moral character of young women in service, maintaining, at the same time, that the complaint is exaggerated, and that the fault is often attributable to carelessness on the part of masters and mistresses ; and for the rest, due, not to over-education, but to the sad want of it.

Setting aside, then, those four-fifths of our girls, from whose ranks mainly proceed our domestic servants, but for whom (as I have shown) our new schools are not responsible, let us now consider the case of the one-fifth for whom we are responsible.

It is a small proportion, but, as we hope, an increasing one. What becomes of them ? Is it true that they seldom go into service ? and, if so, is it because their course of training unfits them, or gives them a distaste for housework, or is it from other causes ?

I am anxious to particularise the class of girls of whom I am now speaking.

Any one who is familiar with our better sort of schools will recognise the group. They stand at the head of the first class : the mistress calls them " the remains of her old first class ; " while others have come and gone, these have stayed on with her long enough really to profit by their schooling. They are taller and more tidy than the rest. If you are examining the school on the gallery, you will perceive that it is from them that nearly all the answers proceed. Besides being good readers, writers, spellers, and needlewomen, they have learned to be attentive and respectful, clean in their persons, punctual in their habits. In them we see the results of our work. True, they are few in number at present—exceptions to the rule ; but what these few are now, that, we trust, in another ten years, a much larger proportion will be. They represent the school of the future.

While we have time, therefore, let us pause, and consider whether the results of our system, as shown in these girls, are altogether satisfactory. Morally, the success of our schools has been even greater than the most sanguine ventured to anticipate. Testimony comes to me from all sides to the good behaviour, in after life, of the girls who have attended our schools regularly.*

But industrially, with a view, I mean, to their aptitude or inaptitude for housework, how do they turn out?

And first, it must be admitted that, as a general rule, they do not enter service. Why is this?

Some places of service, such as too many of our dairy farms and public-houses, are quite unfit for girls who have any self-respect or sense of propriety.

But, for the rest, why is it that domestic service is not more attractive to our girls?

I have two explanations to offer.

First: well educated girls being, as I have shown, so small a minority, there is just now even a greater demand for them than, perhaps, there will be a few years hence, in other employments preferable to service. They are wanted as pupil teachers or as nursery governesses, or as apprentices to various branches of skilled female labour; or, if they have comfortable homes, and wish to stay there, they are willingly retained, being, as the mothers say, "perfect treasures at home," while their less steady sisters are gladly sent away into domestic service.

This competition with domestic service is sound and healthy, forcing those who wish to have good servants to learn to treat them more as members of their family, and less as hired work-people.

None but the hopelessly selfish man can wish to cheapen women's labour in England.

* See the Note at the end of this chapter.

My second explanation is that which claims our attention chiefly.

Our present course of school training certainly does tend to give girls a distaste for housework. It is too bookish, too sedentary. How can this be remedied?

My answer is a very simple one; it *was* remedied in about a dozen schools in the three counties which formed my district, and *might have been* in nearly all. About a dozen day schools came under my inspection which had engrafted industrial housework into the school routine, and the effect, in every case where it was judiciously done, was that the girls of that school stayed longer, and much more generally sought domestic service, and found excellent places.

I have no space here to describe in detail the plans which have been found to work successfully.

I shall content myself with giving a few of the most valuable results of this experience.

1. *The industrial work done must be really useful work, not a mere playing at the thing.*

2. *The principal teacher of the school must herself take a hearty interest in it.*

3. *It must be made attractive to the girls.*

4. *Care must be taken to put them in the way of obtaining good places when they leave school.*

I will now show briefly how these rules may best be carried out.

Except in special cases, where there happens to be a demand for some particular product of female industry, opportunity for industrial training will best be supplied by a model home in connexion with the school. The mistress's house is obviously the nucleus of such a home. The addition of a couple of bedrooms for boarders, and a corresponding enlargement of the kitchen, offices, &c., would at once supply a routine of house-

work sufficient to occupy a dozen of the elder school-girls for six or eight hours in the week.

They should divide the work amongst them, some in turn being in the kitchen, some doing housemaid's work, some washing, some baking, some marketing. The boarders (who will probably be the daughters of small farmers or tradespeople—one or two of them, it may be, pupil teachers) should certainly take part with the day scholars in the work. This will help to make it the fashion among the day scholars. After the first outlay, the plan need not be an expensive one. The payments of the boarders will make it almost self-supporting.

Everything is purposely on a small and economical scale : I regard this as most important : industrial apparatus may very easily be too complete. The kitchen, laundry, and bakehouse should be good of their kind, but of the cottage kind, so to speak.

The success of the scheme will entirely depend on the measure in which it fulfils the four conditions above mentioned.

The first is clearly fulfilled in the plan which I have sketched. There is the little household : its food must be cooked, its beds must be made, its linen must be washed.

The second condition is more likely to be fulfilled in future years than heretofore. More attention than formerly is now paid to domestic economy in our training colleges. But any one proposing to organise such a school should be especially careful to select a mistress who has a taste for housework. The actual labour of superintendence may be undertaken by a paid assistant, but the principal teacher must animate and give tone to the whole thing. If possible, the industrial superintendent should be the mother or aunt of the schoolmistress.

In order to fulfil the third condition—to render the work attractive to the girls—the industrial girls might be distinguished by a rosette on the shoulder or in some other way ; one meal a day might be given to them, according to the plan so admirably

carried out by Mr Hawtrey at St Mark's School, Windsor, and at Capesthorpe, in Cheshire, in former years ; or a complete suit of underclothing, made in the school, might annually be given to each day scholar so employed ; or there might be a school feast every year specially for the industrial scholars, as at Alderley and Acton Schools in Cheshire, and at Freehay in Staffordshire ; to which those who had gone into service should be invited to return. The good fruits of the training, as seen in these former scholars, returning once a year with happy prosperous looks to their old school, would have much weight with the children and with their parents.

And this leads me to the last point. The school must be a servants' registration office for the neighbourhood. Some trouble will be needed at first to push the girls into good places, but as soon as the school has once obtained a name for training servants, all experience shows that the difficulty will be rather to meet the numerous demands made upon it. It is by active attention to this last point that school managers have in my district overcome their greatest difficulty, the opposition of the parents.

Here undoubtedly lies the most serious obstacle to the introduction of any scheme of industrial training. The parents can seldom be persuaded to set any value on it. They say they can teach such things at home, and that they send their children to school to be made into scholars. Now I have taken especial pains in different parts of the country to ascertain how much industrial training the girls receive at home. In few respects does one district differ from another more than in this. In some parts, where for instance the people have small farms of their own, with two or three cows on each, the *home* offers far better opportunities for the industrial training of the girl than any school could supply. The same applies to many homes where the mother keeps a small shop. Here, then, the plea of the parent is reasonable and just. And in these cases I

should strongly advise a half-time scheme for girls above eleven years of age, so that they should make themselves useful at home one-half the day, and attend school the other half; or, failing this, at all events leave of absence on the washing-day or market-day.

In other parts of the country—for instance, factory districts, mining districts, or highly farmed districts, where the land is let in large holdings—the parents' plea that they can teach household work at home merely proceeds from their own low standard and ignorance in the matter.

In such places, the establishment of a model-house, such as I have described, in connexion with the school is most desirable. To overcome the foolish objections of the parents is the great difficulty. But this difficulty will lessen every year, when they begin to see that the children like it, and are helped forward in the world by it; and the gift of clothes or food at the outset will go far to reconcile them to it.

And here I venture to throw out a suggestion, which may perhaps be taken up, tested, and if desirable carried out by some among the many excellent women, who in the present day are to be found almost everywhere ready to occupy any opening that may appear in the work of elevating our poor neighbours. The presence of one such gentlewoman in this home, who would throw her spirit into the domestic training of the girls, and infuse some of George Herbert's Elixir into their housework, teaching them that—

A servant with this clause
Makes drudgery divine ;
Who sweeps a room, as for Thy laws,
Makes that and the action fine,—

such a presence would give to our girls precisely what we most want for them—a sense of the gracefulness and dignity of household ministration.

Here, then, I close what I have to say about industrial training ; my plan for carrying it out in connexion with a national girls' school is very much what I sketched in my report to the Committee of Council in 1853. It has been partially carried out in many places, and with excellent effect. The value of the training consists not so much in the instruction given in any specific art, as for example, the art of laundry work—for this the girls in our schools are for the most part too young—but rather in the cultivation of what may be termed the homely instincts and virtues of the girl, alongside of her book learning. We not only want her to be the steady, well-principled, intelligent girl, described in the earlier portion of this chapter, but we wish her also to be active and ready, with a quick eye for what is wrong in a house, and a quick hand to put it right, helpful in whatever is going on, sensible and trustworthy in matters of household responsibility, and rejoicing to do her work well, whatever it is.

I have purposely left to the last what I have to say about needlework.

The plan that I find to work best is to classify the school afresh in the afternoon, according to the girls' proficiency in needlework. In the best schools the youngest children are taught to turn down a hem as soon as they take a needle in hand, and so throughout they learn the placing or fixing along with each new sort of sewing. The first class is the "cutting-out" class. No girl is promoted from one class into the one above until she have produced a sampler of all the kinds of work proper to her former class. Her progress is recorded in a book kept for the purpose.

The difficulty of providing properly graduated work for the girls is overcome (where there is no regular supply of work from the school committee) by purchasing cheap stuffs and cottons

at wholesale prices,* and making these up in the school into articles of clothing, distributing the several parts of the work according to the capability of the girls ; or, still better, allowing each girl, if possible, to have the pleasure of beginning and completing a separate article of clothing, so that she can point to it and say it is entirely her own work.† These articles of clothing are either made to order, and paid for by instalments, as they are made up, by the children or their parents ; or they are disposed of at a sort of auction on the occasion of the school feast or otherwise. Certain afternoons in the week are set apart for such work as the children may bring with them from their homes. But this home-work seldom affords such good practice to the girls as work selected by the mistress, suitable to each one's proficiency, and cut out for them in the school.

I find the greatest possible difference of standard in different schools in respect of needlework. It may serve as some sort of guide if I state here the average standard of attainment in needlework reached in the better sort of schools.

The first class are usually able to show the frocks or shirts which they have cut out and made ; in some instances a pattern has been given them, in others the cutting out has been done by rule.‡ One-fourth of the school, sometimes one-third, are able to make a shirt sleeve, (cut out for some of them,) placing the band on the gathers themselves, stitching a rounded wristband, and making the button-hole. In our prize examinations we used to expect all girls above eleven years old to be able to do this—the work being done under the examiner's eye.

* *Remnants*, or "*fents*," as they are locally called, can be bought by weight in Manchester, at prices far below that of the *piece*.

† I borrow this hint from Mr Glennie's excellent pamphlet on school needlework, "*Hints from an Inspector of Schools*." Stanford, Charing Cross.

‡ One of the most lively and interesting lessons I ever heard given in a school was a lesson on the cutting out of a shirt given to a class of girls about twelve years old, at Leigh, in North Staffordshire.

In many schools one-half can knit a stocking without any help, and darn a hole.

These points will be sufficient to enable any one experienced in these matters to form a notion of the standard aimed at, and very generally attained, in our schools, in needlework. Fancy work is seldom allowed in schools under trained teachers ; in the old-fashioned schools it is still allowed to occupy far too much time.

Of the paramount importance of needlework in a girls' school there cannot be two opinions. One rarely now finds among trained teachers that tendency to slight it which we used to notice some ten or twenty years ago.

For girls who are to be domestic servants it is especially desirable, and this for reasons which have a direct bearing on the subject of this essay. Among the good habits which have a tendency to keep a maid-servant (and especially a farm-servant) out of temptation, not the least important is the habit of making her own clothes. It occupies her leisure moments, it keeps her from the temptation of shop finery, and it saves many a shilling for the bank or the club.

And this leads me, in conclusion, to notice what certainly ought not to be lost sight of in an inquiry like the present : how much more full of risk is the position of a young woman in the factory, and in some sorts of service, now than formerly. While new temptations beset them, old safeguards have been withdrawn.

For instance, in manufacturing districts, the factory system has rendered girls' labour so valuable that, at the age of thirteen or fourteen, they become independent of their parents, and able to go their own ways, lodging at home, or "down the street," as they list. Parents' authority is relaxed ; the home, which used to be to the girl a place of industrial training, is broken up ; the mother is at the mill ; the young children

at the infants' school, or with some old dame, who makes a livelihood by keeping a sort of public nursery.

Again, in agricultural districts the economy of farmhouses has changed with the manners of the people. The farmer's wife, instead of presiding at the mid-day meal at the upper end of the large kitchen or "house-place," and spinning among her maidens in the evening, now not unfrequently dines first with her husband, or apart in the "parlour," and discarding the spinning-wheel, buys all the household linen ready-made; so that farm-servants have much less the character of members of the family, and much more that of hired labourers, than they used to have.

Again, the relation between mistress and servant has been still further loosened by the greater facilities for changing situation introduced by railways and newspaper advertisements. The effect of this is clearly to remove what used to be a check on misconduct; and this in two ways: first, it makes the servant care less about losing her place, knowing that she can so easily find another; and, in the second place, it makes masters and mistresses, now that they can so easily change their servants, far less careful than formerly to ascertain their character: thus in both ways a safeguard is withdrawn. Another temptation besetting young women more frequently than formerly is the shop. When a woman's dress was for the most part home-made, there was far less inducement than there is now to finery and waste of pocket-money; and not only so, but leisure time, now spent in idleness, was then usefully occupied in making and mending. Again, in the wealthier classes, it has become the habit of the masters and mistresses to leave home for weeks together once or twice in the year: these absences leave the servants exposed to much temptation.

In these and in a variety of other ways, it may be shown that in the present day a girl who starts in life without good

habits and principles is exposed to greater danger than formerly ; and for this reason among others, it is a great and most serious error to suppose that the same scanty amount of school training is sufficient for girls now which sufficed for them fifty years ago. Those who have given careful and dispassionate consideration to the subject all agree, that if we wish to remedy the evil of which people complain—the deterioration of young women in household qualities—we must give far more attention than hitherto to the girls' school.

I have one more plea to urge in behalf of girls' schools, and I have done.

The more we investigate the social evils of the day, tracing them to their causes, and so detecting a clue to their remedy, the more convinced shall we be that reform, to be healthy, must proceed from within rather than from without. Instead of crying out for legislative interference, or organising new associations, we must begin with the home.

The home is, if I may so speak, the seed-vessel of society—far more beautiful in its organisation than any institution of man's contriving—where the England of the next generation must germinate, where the life of the nation must be developed. If you wish to purify and to elevate the national life, you must begin, therefore, in the home ; and if you wish to reform the homes of the people, you must train up aright those who, for good or for evil, will preside over them—the daughters, the future wives and mothers of the English workmen. Where girls are already under good home influences, there let them, under the mother's eye, have their industrial training, content that in school-hours they should ply the book or needle. But where this is not the case, where the home is corrupt and its influences unwholesome, there, as we value our national welfare, let us step in ; the industrial teacher must occupy the place which the mother has forfeited ; the de-

generacy of the home must be arrested by the ministry of the school.

Note.—The following extract from my Report for the year 1861 illustrates what I have said in this chapter of the excellent moral influence of our better sort of girls' schools :—

I have from time to time in previous years, and especially in my reports for 1856 and 1859, illustrated from the after conduct of our young people, the good results of the moral training they had received at school.

During the past year I was led to institute an inquiry respecting the conduct of the girls who had passed through five of our best girls' schools in Staffordshire and Cheshire. It was obviously a test which, in earlier years of the system, would have been impossible, because the worth of a girl's moral training is not proved until she has reached womanhood. I therefore limited my inquiry to those who had passed through the schools between the years 1850 and 1856; and further, that the information might be really trustworthy, I selected such schools only as had been from the year 1850 to the present time under one and the same mistress.

I asked two questions: first, "How many girls in those five years passed through your school, staying long enough to reach your first class?" And secondly, "How many of these girls have subsequently forfeited their good name?" taking care that this last question should be distinctly understood, and allowing two or three weeks for the reply.

I give the results.

The list from the first school (in a parish of small farmers) I give entire, to show how carefully the inquiry was conducted. The others I shall abridge.

1. Farmer's daughter; good home; ten years at school; confirmed; regular communicant, and in every way satisfactory; living at home and useful.

2. Farmer's daughter; confirmed; now a pupil-teacher; well conducted, and doing her work steadily.

3. Labourer's child; confirmed; now at home, and well conducted.

4. Farmer's daughter; good home; ten years at school; confirmed; regular communicant, quite satisfactory; now at home and useful.

5 and 6. Farmer's daughters; nine and ten years at school; confirmed; both now at home, and really useful and satisfactory.

7. Child of bad parents, only in the parish a short time; now left it, and gone to the potteries; a most wilful girl; do not know anything of her now.

8. Farmer's daughter; good mother-in-law; *always* satisfactory and well-principled; confirmed; was a nursery governess, now respectably married.

9. Half-sister to the above; good painstaking child; now a teacher in a good school at Nottingham, and working well.

10. Farmer's daughter; father a confirmed drunkard, not married to her mother; lives at home, and working; thoroughly well conducted; confirmed, and regular communicant.

11. Farmer's daughter; steady, good girl; confirmed; now at home, and useful; regular communicant.

12. Labourer's child; drunken father; confirmed; good girl; several months' illness patiently borne, and died.

13. Small farmer's daughter; mother married secondly a wicked man, and she died; has been left to herself, and is perfectly steady and well conducted; no longer in the parish; occasionally see her.

14. Labourer's child; in service in the neighbourhood, with good character.

15. Quite poor parents; always thoroughly steady, and a very good daughter; has been in good places, and is now in service, and has a high character.

16. Farmer's daughter; good at school; confirmed; at home, and useful, and well conducted.

17. Mother married second time a drunken blacksmith; irregular at school, and not for long; made a bad marriage with a man much older than herself, and not a good man.

18. Small farmer's daughter; good mother; confirmed, and a

communicant ; at home, ready to go to service ; thoroughly well conducted.

19, 20, and 21. Large farmer's daughters ; good mother ; father, superior class ; all now at home ; the eldest has been out ; confirmed ; all are communicants, and well conducted.

22. Labourer's daughter ; in service in good places, and very steady.

23. Sister of above ; always a good girl ; has been in a gentleman's service four years ; behaved exceedingly well under very trying circumstances of an assault by a fellow-servant.

24. Daughter of small farmer ; painstaking girl ; parents left the parish ; helps her elder sister in a school at Manchester, and doing well.

25. Brought up by grand-parents, who are careless and unsatisfactory ; very irregular at school, and ignorant ; still with them, a useful drudge.

26. A labourer's child ; taken early from school to go to an aunt in London ; came back ; went into service ; lately changed her place unwisely, but always well conducted.

27. Sister of No. 12 ; thoroughly good girl ; confirmed, and constant communicant ; been apprenticed to dressmaker at Acton ; at home now dressmaking ; ready for service if health allows.

28. Another sister ; untruthful and sly at school ; been in farm-service, and *fallen*.

29 and 30. Daughters of a drunken blacksmith ; were not long at school ; live at home, employed in needlework and dressmaking ; quiet and well behaved ; confirmed, not communicants.

31. Labourer's child ; good mother, married second time ; untruthful and plausible child, and went out as dressmaker ; has made a discreditable marriage.

32. Poor parents ; steady, trustworthy girl ; confirmed ; pupil-teacher.

33. Small farmer's child ; confirmed ; at home, and really useful ; well conducted.

34. Small farmer's child ; went to service, came home ill and died ; a good girl.

35. Sister to No. 2 : nervous, has fits ; cannot remain in service.

36. Sister to the above ; very timid and shy ; in service, and well behaved.

37. Farmer's daughter; not long at school; now at home helping her mother; quiet and well conducted.

38. Labourer's daughter; went to service, and now married, and lives in the parish respectably.

39. Farmer's daughter; confirmed; and lives at home and helps; well conducted.

40. Labourer's daughter; not long at school; been in service in the parish; now respectably married.

41. Labourer's child; at service; steady.

42. Illegitimate child; lived with a grandmother; not a good girl at school; went to farm-service, and had to be looked after; now in a good family, and good hope of her.

Of this list of 42, only one is known to have fallen; one is lost sight of; and of two others the account is not satisfactory.

The next account is from an important girls' school in a parish of large dairy farms.

Total number of girls who left between 1850 and 1856, 104; married, 28; in gentlemen's service, 12; in farm-service, 46; at home, 6; dressmakers, 5; plain workers, 2; laundress, 1; dead, 1. Of these, *three* have fallen. The mistress gives a very satisfactory account of nearly all the girls; many of them are in the same situations that they went to on leaving school. Two of the girls who went wrong lived in a very rough farmhouse. It is hoped that all three are now well conducted.

The third school made a return of 75 girls; but with respect to 30 of these the information was rather imperfect; 14 were creditably married, 3 discredibly married, 2 had illegitimate children. Of the 75, 22 either remained at home or were dressmakers, 53 were in service.

The fourth schoolmistress reports that—

“Of the 49 girls who left during these years, 34 had reached the first class, the rest the second. Nine are employed at the silk factories; 12, chiefly farmers' daughters, are at home; two are married; and the rest are in service. I am very glad to find that only *one* has gone astray. She is employed in farmhouse-service.”

The fifth school, in a mining and manufacturing district, makes a return of 127.

Of these, 21 are married, 57 are at home with their parents, 24 in service, 13 pupil-teachers, 5 dressmakers, 2 emigrated, 5 dead. "*One only* is known to have lost her character, the motherless daughter of a drunken father, who went to service and was seduced by her master. I think you may depend on this information as strictly accurate. The result of the inquiry has given me great cause for thankfulness. In the midst of temptations so great as exist in this district, the wonder is not that any fall, but that so many stand."

These results need no comment ; they speak for themselves. *The answer to my question is eleven out of 397.*

Those who know the daily aspect of our best girls' schools—the well-scoured floor, the perfect order, the cleanliness and neatness, the animation and attentiveness of the classes, the kindness of association, the care of the little ones, the gentle though firm bearing of the mistress : those who have followed the girls to their homes, and seen as their mothers see, and like to tell, how obliging and tidy they have become, how in all their duties, "what the teacher would say," is ever in their thoughts, the tearful evening when her look has been a grave one, the gift of flowers on her birthday, the letters that must be written to her in the holidays,—who have met the girls in the road, or sent them on an errand, and noticed the respectfulness, and, above all, the steadiness of their manner :—those to whom all this is familiar will hardly need the evidence I have been giving to assure them that, when childhood is over, and the girls so trained have gone forth with woman's lot upon them to confess the faith that they have learned at school, such early influences will not, cannot fail of their effect.

CHAPTER X.

THE NATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM IN IRELAND.

IN the year 1860 I spent a week as the guest of the Chief Secretary for Ireland; and through the facilities so kindly afforded me, and the courtesy of the Resident Commissioner, I was enabled to visit and inspect several Irish schools, some in Dublin, some in the provinces.

My impressions during that visit are embodied in this chapter. They naturally fall under two heads: (1.) *efficiency*, (2.) the *constitution*, of the Irish national schools.

EFFICIENCY.

In judging of the efficiency of the Irish schools, it must at the outset be borne in mind that the Irish scheme of national education is maintained at about one-half the cost of our English scheme, estimated in proportion to the number of children educated. This enormous disparity of expense is explained, I believe, first, by the fact that the Irish teachers are to a great extent self-educated, whereas in England the cost of the teachers' training is in a large measure borne by the State; and secondly, by the marked inferiority of the Irish school buildings, and the comparatively small amount expended out of the Parliamentary fund in building grants.*

* In the year 1860 the number of paid monitors in Ireland was 1837; and the grants on their account did not exceed £8638. The amount of the building grants in that year was only £7345.

School buildings.—The buildings and premises of the schools which I visited I noted as far below the English average. Had these schools been in my district, I should have condemned two out of three as disqualified in this respect to receive annual grants from the State. The model school at Athy, the Phoenix Park girls' and infants' school, and the Convent school in Baggot Street, would alone have received favourable reports as to their material efficiency. I referred to the Irish inspectors' reports for that same year, and found that on their part also this was a very general complaint. It appeared from their reports that 30 or 40 per cent. of the schools were without proper out-buildings. I noted also the frequent want of any class-room; and considering the regulations of the Board as to separate religious instruction, a class-room would seem to be essential to the proper working of the "mixed" system, and might very properly (one would think) be insisted on by the Board in every case as a condition of annual grants.

Irregularity of Attendance.—In each case I looked over the school-roll, and accustomed as I have been in my own district to irregularity of attendance, I was by no means prepared for the still greater irregularity of the Irish children. In England we consider it an unsatisfactory state of things that the children on the rolls should be absent one day in three or four. In these Irish schools they appear to be, on an average, absent half their time. (This is confirmed by the General Report for 1859:—average number on rolls, 519,175; average daily attendance, 269,203.)

There is another statistical point which I regard as most important. An inspector should in every case ask the question, "What position in the school had the children who left in the last twelve months severally attained?"

In the Ring's End school (above par in efficiency) I found

that of 176 boys who had left the school in the last year, only 11 had reached the fourth (the highest) class, and only 12 the third class !

In the excellent Convent schools in Baggot Street, out of 743 who had left in the year, only 66 had reached the fourth (highest) class. In the St Francis Xavier school, of 143 who had left, 12 had reached this class. In the Athy model school, where I expected a better state of things, I found that of 82 boys whose names had been struck off in 1859, 10 were in the fifth book, (the highest class,) 10 were in the fourth, 19 in the third, and the rest below, *i.e.*, scarcely able to read. In the Athy girls' school, out of 62 who had left, 12 had reached the fourth book, and 18 the third. The worst case was that of St Peter's, Whitefriars, Dublin ; that school has 215 on the rolls ; an average attendance of only 96 ; 280 had come and gone in the year ; and of those present the master told me he could only name *three* who had been with him for a period of twelve months !

Organisation.—The third point on which, were I an Irish inspector, bringing to bear on these schools our English standard, I should report unfavourably, would be the organisation. I was surprised to find still lingering in Ireland the old Lancastrian arrangement of desks. The inconvenience of this system has been long confessed in England ; twenty years ago it was given up in all but the “ British and foreign ” schools ; and in the last five years these schools have been one after the other adopting the plan which arranges the desks in distinct groups—one group for each class. Of the schools I saw in Ireland only one was organised in this way, the model school at Athy.

Discipline.—Perhaps connected with the last head, but not to be altogether so explained, I note discipline as below the English standard,—more noise and less order than in an average English school.

Instruction.—I now come to the teaching ; and on this (after all, the most important) point, I should be disposed to report very favourably, with the drawback, however, implied in the statistics given above, showing how lamentably small a proportion stay at school long enough to profit by it. First of all, there is one specific branch of instruction which in England is almost wholly neglected in our national schools, and which in Ireland has been carried to a very high degree of efficiency, I mean *agriculture*. The unrivalled normal institution at Glasnevin, with its model farm, and the several model agricultural schools affiliated to Glasnevin throughout the country, all under Dr Kirkpatrick's general superintendence, form a distinct feature in the Irish scheme, to which we have nothing parallel in England. I proceed, therefore, to the ordinary subjects of school instruction, and I take the group of schools which I examined to be a fair sample of Irish schools generally, because I purposely included some that had received unfavourable reports from their own inspectors. So far then as I may speak generally from this limited experience, I should say that in *grammar* the Irish standard is much above the English standard ; that *reading* is more skilfully taught ; that in geography, arithmetic, writing, and spelling, Irish schools are about on a level with English schools ; in plain needlework, on a par with English schools fifteen years ago, but decidedly below the standard we have now attained to. I was much struck with the amount of useful information which many of the children had derived from the careful reading of the series of Irish reading books. In one or two of the schools I was invited to examine the Protestant section of the children in their knowledge of Scripture, and in one I heard the teacher do so. In the last case the teacher was himself so entirely ignorant of Holy Scripture, that the examination was worth nothing. In the other cases I

confess I was much disappointed. And this leads me to the second point, the *constitution* of the *Irish national schools*.

CONSTITUTION.

In considering the peculiar constitution of the Irish schools, the "mixed system," as it is called, whereby children of different religious denominations receive secular instruction *together*, and are separated during some one hour, or half-hour, in the day, for religious instruction, two questions present themselves :—

1. Is it abstractedly a better system than our English denominational system, in which the State assists each denomination to improve to the utmost its own characteristic schools without any restrictions on the religious teaching?
2. Is it the best system *for Ireland*, a country in which a Protestant State is promoting the education of a population, five-sixths of which are Roman Catholic?

It will be seen from the remarks that follow, that if I were asked the first question, I should still answer, "No; in the abstract I prefer the English denominational system." But that to the second question, the results of my late experience of Irish schools would lead me to answer unhesitatingly, "Yes; the Irish system seems to me in every way far better suited to the peculiar case of Ireland than that adopted in England, or, indeed, than any other Government scheme of education that I can conceive practicable."

I went to Ireland, I confess, with a strong prepossession against "the mixed system," even for a country like Ireland. My objections to it were—

1. That I thought it must tend to realise precociously to young children the religious differences which unhappily divide us.

2. That the sharp distinction between the religious instruction and the secular instruction in a school must give the child a notion that religion was a thing *alongside of and separable from* his daily business, instead of being intended to be fused into it.
3. That the practical effect of this system must be to secularise the teacher, disposing him to regard the religious instruction as a matter of secondary importance, put in to satisfy the clergy, on whom, rather than on himself, rested the responsibility of this part of the children's training; and if so, it could hardly fail to follow that teachers thus viewing their responsibilities, would neglect this side of *their own* training; and in four cases out of five the result would be a lowering of the teacher's religious, and, therefore, of his moral tone.

These were my prepossessions; and, so far as the abstract question is concerned, my further acquaintance with the system in practice has not removed them. I must still call them prepossessions; it would be absurd to suppose that in so short an experience I had collected sufficient observations to entitle me to call them anything else. All that I can say is, that I saw nothing in Ireland calculated to alter my belief that the teaching of the Christian brother, or Wesleyan, or English parish schoolmaster, is likely to be (*cæteris paribus*) more earnest and devotional, and to take a deeper hold on a young child's mind and heart, than the teaching of the Irish national schoolmaster. And as with the teaching, so with the discipline,—it is backed and enforced by more powerful sanctions. The opening and closing of the school work by prayer, (which in the Irish national schools seems to be found impracticable,) the opportunity afforded to the teacher by the Scripture lesson to allude with marked effect to any cases of misbehaviour that may have recently occurred, and the friendly relations

between the teacher and their pastor, help, I am persuaded, to promote the wholesome discipline, and to raise the moral tone of an English parish school, and to attach the children personally to their teacher.

For these several reasons, if the question were—"Is it desirable to introduce this system of mixed schools into England," I should still answer unhesitatingly, "No;" nor is it necessary; in English parishes, whose population or wealth does not justify more than one school, the church school, happily, in nine cases out of ten, is so liberally constituted and so pacifically carried on, that the few dissenters there may be are quite able and willing to avail themselves of it for their children, without any conscientious difficulty; and the State can, therefore, without injustice, recognise it as being in fact, as well as in name, the *national* school of the place.

But in Ireland this is not the case; and, therefore, *with special regard to Ireland*, and in answer to my second question, I must confess myself a complete convert to the "mixed system."

I seem to see now, what I did not see before, that for Ireland there is no imaginable alternative that would work so well, or do so much for the enlightenment and Christianising of the people. In each parish or school district that I visited, I asked myself this question—"How would our English system work here?" And in each case, with that group of children before me, (four-fifths, or perhaps all, Roman Catholic,) and in the background their parents and ministers, and the patrons, and a Protestant Government, all complicating the question, the answer came back sharp and clear, that to substitute our English system would be scarcely possible, and if possible, most undesirable, prejudicial to the best interests of the Roman Catholic majority, and to the Protestant minority utterly disastrous. Under no other system do I see how the Roman

Catholic children could get so enlightened and liberal a training; and under no other system (that would be equitable) could the small Protestant minorities have their rights and interests so protected.

Viewed from the exclusively Protestant point of view, (not that we have any business so to view the question,) the effect of substituting a denominational system would be so ruinous that I cannot conceive how any Protestant clergyman can desire it. In three parishes out of four the Protestants are a small minority; in many there are not more than ten or twenty Protestant children. In what sort of position would the Protestant clergyman, or the Protestant squire, find himself under a denominational system? He must do one of two things; either maintain a separate school for these ten or twenty children, with such a grant as the State could in equity give him, or send his children to the school of the Roman Catholic majority, without any of the safeguards against proselytism imposed by the present system. I cannot think that he would be better off on the horns of this dilemma than he is at present. For what is his present position under the "mixed" system? He can send his ten or twenty children to a school where the secular instruction is as good as local and public resources can together make it; where nothing offensive to his religious principles can be obtruded on his children's notice; and where (if the school be a vested one, *i.e.*, built partly by local and partly by State funds) for an hour each day the clergyman may go himself, or send one of his Sunday-school teachers, to give his Protestant children instruction in the Bible or the Catechism, without any restriction whatever. If I am right in my impression (recorded above) that the standard of the religious knowledge of the Protestant children attending the Irish national schools is much below that of our English parochial schools, it can only be explained in one or both of two ways; either the clergy are

less skilful in their lessons than professionally trained teachers, or they do not avail themselves of the opportunities for giving daily religious instruction afforded them by the Board.*

If this be so, the defect will, one may hope, be remedied in a great measure by the growing disposition, already observable, on the part of the clergy to co-operate with the Board in the administration of the national schools. But even if this cannot be, and if the Protestant minority do not under the Irish system receive so complete a religious training as they would in England, still this evil is partially counterbalanced by the *better* training of the Roman Catholic majority, by the amount of sound moral principle indirectly conveyed to *all* the children by the use of the series of reading-books drawn up by the Board. Surely, viewing the question as we are doing, from the Protestant point, it is no small thing that half a million Roman Catholic children are for their daily lessons using a series of books in which the most sensitive Protestant can find nothing in the very least degree objectionable. Would this be the case—could it possibly be the case—under any other system?

I can entirely understand how an Irish clergyman, after visiting an English parish, and examining the children of a good church school in their knowledge of the Old and New Testament, may go back to Ireland, saying to himself, “Oh that I had such a school in my parish here!” and how under the influence of this feeling the real merits of the question are often forgotten. Indeed, I cannot describe how sensibly I myself missed *the Bible element* in the Irish schools which I visited. In our best schools the children’s minds are, as it

* The good results of a frank and hearty acceptance on the part of the clergyman of the position assigned to him by the regulations of the National Board, were most evident in Dr Sadler’s excellent school in the Phoenix Park.

were, moulded by it; the Gospel story, and the Old Testament biographies, are the children's literature; here they find their history, their poetry, their moral philosophy. Their language (as one finds in whatever subject one examines them) is largely coloured by the Bible language. I believe we owe to this what is most peculiar in the character of the English peasantry—what foreigners often remark, and what some reproach us with—a sort of austerity or puritanism, as they call it, or as it might be more favourably described, a habit of referring action and principle to a Bible standard. I confess to being English enough to value this peculiarity very highly; and I should be sorry indeed that the Bible should cease to be, on this side of the water, our “Child's own Book.” But in Ireland it cannot be so—not because of the system of education there adopted, but simply because the Irish are in the main a Roman Catholic people. Keeping this fact steadily in view, the “mixed” scheme of education must, I think, appear to any fair observer to be, not only in theory, but in its operation, admirably suited to the country. I left Dublin with the belief that, however strongly I might still deprecate its introduction into England, yet to the Irish people it was practically securing a far more enlightened training and culture than would be possible under any other system.

CHAPTER XI.

MIDDLE CLASS EDUCATION.

IN the year 1832, Dr Arnold addressed two letters to an influential journal in the West Riding of Yorkshire "On the Education of the Middle Classes." The Reform Bill had just been carried, and Dr Arnold felt with all thoughtful men that there were few questions of greater national importance than the education of the classes whose power had been so largely increased and consolidated by that measure. "I wish exceedingly," he said, "to draw public attention to it, and to impress most strongly on those engaged in conducting it the difficulty of their task, as well as its vast importance; how loudly it calls for their best exertions, and how nobly those exertions, wisely directed, may hope to be rewarded." He then adverted to the very unsatisfactory position of the middle class schools, contrasted with the schools for the richer and the schools for the poorer classes—pointing out that while both the higher grammar and the parish schools were under the direction of the clergy, the middle school did not offer to the public even this security for its respectability. "The old provision" (he continued) "which rendered it unlawful for any man to teach without a licence from the bishop of the diocese, has naturally and necessarily fallen into disuse; and nothing has been done to substitute in its place one that should be at once practicable and beneficial. . . . The masters of our English or commercial schools labour under this double disadvantage, that not only

their moral but their intellectual fitness must be taken upon trust. I do not mean that this is at all their fault ; still less do I say that they are not fit actually for the discharge of their important duties ; but still it is a disadvantage to them that they have no evidence of their fitness to offer beforehand. They feel this inconvenience themselves, and their pupils feel it also ; opportunities for making known their proficiency are wanting alike to both." Dr Arnold then shows how this want of guarantee degrades the business of education : " For a schoolmaster of a commercial school, having no means of acquiring a general celebrity, is rendered dependent on the inhabitants of his own immediate neighbourhood : if he offends them, he is ruined. This greatly interferes with discipline ; the boys are well aware of their parents' power, and complain to them against the exercise of their master's authority ; nor is it always that the parents themselves can resist the temptation of showing their own importance, and giving the master to understand that he must be careful how he ventures to displease them."

Having thus shown in his first letter the moral evil arising from this irresponsible position of the commercial schoolmaster, Dr Arnold in his second letter traces to the same cause an intellectual fault in these schools, viz., their exclusive attention to what may be called professional, as distinguished from liberal, studies. " Every man has two businesses : the one his own particular profession or calling, be it what it will—that of soldier, seaman, farmer, lawyer, mechanic, or the like ; the other, his general calling, which he has in common with all his neighbours, namely, the calling of a citizen and a man. The education which fits him for the first of these two businesses, is called professional ; and that which fits him for the latter, is called liberal." Parents are almost universally anxious that their boys should have the first, while of the second they understand but little ; and the middle schools, depending as

they do on the parents' favour, are forced to adopt this narrow one-sided view of the work of education.

This was Dr Arnold's complaint thirty-six years ago : it is melancholy to think how little has been done in the interval to remedy so unsatisfactory a state of things. This interval of thirty-six years has witnessed—thanks mainly to Dr Arnold—a most remarkable improvement in the higher grammar school ; it has seen too, under the auspices of the Government, a yet greater advance in the efficiency of the elementary school. But between these two, the middle school has been almost stationary. As then, so now, it is sadly dependent on the favour, and therefore on the caprice or prejudice of the parents ; as then, so now, discipline is thereby injuriously interfered with, and the course of studies miserably narrowed to what is showy or commercially profitable.

Two efforts have been made of late years to remedy these evils. The first, and so far as regards the middle classes, the most important, perhaps, was the establishment of the College of Preceptors in 1846. The second was the institution of the Oxford and Cambridge local examinations in 1858. The College of Preceptors aims at remedying the moral evil by examining and certificating the schoolmaster, with a view to giving him a recognised social position, and so rendering him more independent of the parent. The universities (and the College of Preceptors also) endeavour to remedy the intellectual evil by examining and certificating the pupils, hoping thus to react on the school, and encourage a more sound and liberal course of study.

I do not now mean to discuss either of these important agencies, but to describe briefly a third effort which the University of Cambridge has in the meantime been making to influence and improve the middle schools of the country.

On the 27th of March 1862, a grace was passed by the

Senate of the University of Cambridge, authorising the Syndicate already charged with the administration of the local examination scheme "to entertain applications for the appointment of one or more persons who should examine the scholars of the school that makes the application, and who should make a report of the result of the application to the Syndicate, it being understood that all the expenses should be borne by the school."

Consistently with the cautious character of this university, the authorities abstained from taking any steps to make public this resolution. The Syndicate (or committee of the Senate) was ready to receive applications, but declined to invite them publicly. The scheme was an experiment, and it seemed desirable that its extension should be very gradual and tentative, and that the first overtures should be from the schools to the university, rather than from the university to the schools.

It will be readily believed, however, that so novel an enterprise had not been decided on by the university without much previous discussion.

Five years ago, when Cambridge was invited to follow the lead of Oxford in organising the scheme of local examinations, some wished, myself among the number, that instead of examining schoolboys at central places away from their schools, the schools themselves should be examined by a properly appointed University Inspector. In a printed letter addressed to my friend the Public Orator, I stated as briefly as I could the reasons for such a modification of the scheme.*

* The following extract from my letter to the Public Orator will explain the scheme which I suggested in 1857, and which the grace of 1862 has in its main features realised :—

"The Senate should appoint two or more inspectors—Masters of Arts—on the recommendation of the Syndicate. They would enter into an extensive correspondence with the teachers of *middle schools*, inviting applications for in-

It was thought, however, and wisely, as I now believe, that in the first instance it was better to adopt the Oxford plan,

spection. Such teachers—accustomed as they are to look round every year for some examiner *ab extra*, to classify their pupils, or award their prizes—would, I am persuaded, accept very generally and very thankfully such an offer. Each school so inviting inspection should pay a small fee to the university—say a guinea for every ten boys on its books—and so furnish a fund which in the first year might be expected to realise some £300 or £400, and which would go on increasing in proportion as the scheme extended itself over the country, rendering it self-supporting.

The inspectors would then plan their tours of inspection ; during the first year the work might perhaps be accomplished by two or three men in a tour of a few months ; in succeeding years it might require more men or more time.

At the close of each year the inspectors would report to the Senate, and we should have a *Blue-book* fully as interesting as any that ever issued from the Queen's Printing-office, and of a sort that would be highly valued by the friends of education.

The success of the scheme would entirely depend on the right men being chosen, and on their doing the work in a cautious and friendly way. They would naturally in each case endeavour to win the confidence of the teacher, being perhaps his guest for the preceding night, or at all events entering into friendly conversation with him before examining his boys, so as to learn the character and *speciality* (so to speak) of his school ; and after their examination I should be disposed, were I one of them, to show my report to the teacher, and ask him whether he would wish it to appear in print at the end of the year.

Being armed with no powers, and having no public money to dispense, I should think this degree of discretion in reporting essential. If, where they could not praise, they were for the most part silent, I apprehend few schools would decline to appear in print. For the mere advertisement would be very valuable to them. Nor would the honesty or value of the report be compromised by such reticence ; because in the inspector's general observations, which would precede his tabulated reports on particular schools, he might comment as strongly as he liked on such faults as he might find of so general occurrence as to require animadversion.

One word about the terms *inspector* and *middle school*. Much would depend on our making it plain that by *inspector* we meant one who would come as the school's friend and well-wisher, not as a mere fault-finder. The term "visitor," if preferred, might be substituted.

By *middle schools*, I mean schools that range between *classical* schools, properly so called, on the one hand, and *elementary schools* on the other. The term has reference to the kind of instruction given, not to the social class of those who attend them. This being understood, I cannot think the term *middle school* need be objected to."

(with one or two not unimportant improvements,) this plan being less likely than that proposed in my letter to be misunderstood by the schoolmasters of the country. The success and general favour which attended the operation of the local examination scheme, induced the Syndicate, in the year 1862, to ask for powers to engraft upon it the further scheme of school examination, and the result was the above recited grace.

For the reasons already mentioned the scheme was not advertised, and in the first year of its operation only eleven schools applied for examination. The Syndicate having asked me to undertake these first examinations, I employed part of my vacation of that year in the task, and visited seven of the eleven schools. In all I met with a most cordial and friendly reception, and abundant evidence that the scheme was well suited to meet a very general wish on the part of parents as well as teachers.

The question that most urgently demands the attention of those who are watching over this experiment is this, How are the schools, and especially the character of their studies, likely to be effected by such examinations? Some fear that university graduates fresh from the lecture-rooms of Oxford and Cambridge, so far as they may win any influence over the studies of the schools they examine, will almost inevitably tend to give them a more academic, and therefore, it is feared, a less practically useful character. Now, although I believe this apprehension to be of but little moment, still I think it desirable that we should so far respect it as to abstain from prescribing the subjects in which we offer to examine; it seems to me better that we should invite each school to send in beforehand its course of study; and should shape our examination accordingly. One school will ask to be examined in advanced mathematics, English composition, geography, and perhaps

chemistry : another will ask for Latin and Greek, English history perhaps, and elementary arithmetic. The university examiner should be prepared to adapt himself to each, making it his business to test the quality of the instruction, rather than seek to alter it. Still it is doubtless the case that a popular and successful examiner does almost unconsciously influence in some measure the institutions that he examines in favour of those departments of knowledge to which he happens himself to attach most weight.

It may be expected that these university examinations will tend, just in proportion to the degree of favour which they may win for themselves, to depreciate the merely professional, and to raise in estimation the liberal studies, in this class of schools. Parents whose only care is that their boys should be made into clever machines, good penmen and rapid accountants, with a view to obtaining eligible situations as clerks, will regret this. Those who take a broader view of education, desiring that their boys should learn to think clearly and coherently, and express themselves accurately and carefully, should be accustomed early in life to distinguish wisdom from folly, things of importance from trifles, truth from falsehood, referring whatever questions come before them, whether in sermons or in newspapers, to certain fixed principles, those in short who, in Dr Arnold's language, wish their sons to be fitted not only for their professional business, but much more and above all for their business as men and as citizens,—those parents will rejoice if the studies pursued in our middle schools acquire hereby a more liberal and permanent character.

All knowledge may be divided into what is permanent and what is progressive ; and it is the study of its permanent portions that in the true sense of the term helps to educate the mind of a youth. The dead languages are fixed for ever ; their grammar, their forms of eloquence and beauty are permanent ;

this cannot be said of any living languages, which are continually changing according to the fashion of the day. The principles of arithmetic and Euclid's Elements of Geometry are fixed and immutable ; whereas the systems of modern accounts, and the arts of land-surveying, book-keeping, and the like, are liable to alteration from time to time. Nothing can be more fascinating than chemistry and electricity ; but inasmuch as these are progressive sciences, it may well be doubted whether they are so improving to an uninformed immature mind as the geometry of the conic sections, which has held its ground since the days of Archimedes, and has formed the basis of the whole system of modern astronomy and navigation.

And as these permanent studies are the best fitted to fix thought, giving a boy clear perceptions and confidence in his knowledge, so they are moreover most unquestionably the best subject-matter for examination.

Those questions are best in an examination which admit of a definitely right or wrong answer ; and of these again, those are pre-eminently the best which cannot be answered by a mere effort of memory, but require the application of an old rule to a new case : for in this way you most surely test the boy's understanding of his old rule.

Now grammar and mathematics fulfil these two conditions better, perhaps, than any other provinces of knowledge.

A boy is asked to translate the sentence, "Wisdom is more to be desired than riches," into Latin. His answer is grammatical or ungrammatical, right or wrong, as he will himself at once recognise when the reasons are explained to him. This is one advantage. Again, he never saw this particular sentence turned into Latin, but he remembers other sentences of analogous form which he has translated, and from them he has gathered certain general principles of translation which, if they are understood, he can apply here. Thus the examiner is testing not

merely the boy's memory, but also his clearness of thought and power of reasoning.*

So with mathematics. A boy is asked to find the side of a square that shall be double a given square. He knows that his answer must be right or wrong ;—there is no possibility of deceiving his examiner, or of evading the question, or pretending to know more than he really does. And again, mere memory will not help him ; he never saw the question before ; he must needs exert his mind, and seek about for certain rules or principles which he has previously mastered, capable of being here applied ; and on his clear and firm grasp of those rules and principles will depend his success in solving the problem.

Now, contrast either of these questions with one in history or geography. Any one familiar with the task of examining knows how difficult it is to frame questions in these subjects which shall admit of a definitely right or definitely wrong answer, and yet not be mere tests of memory. If, wishing for a very definite answer, I ask for the date of a battle or the pedigree of a king, I merely test the memory. If in my anxiety to avoid this I ask the boy to trace the causes or results of a civil war, I get perhaps in answer a cloud of words from which it is almost impossible to form a true estimate of his knowledge ; and so with all inexact sciences.

For purposes of early study, therefore, and especially for purposes of examination, no provinces of knowledge can be compared with grammar and mathematics. And the universities will, I think, be serving the true interests of our middle schools, and of those who are there educated, if by means of these examinations they indirectly tend to encourage liberal studies as opposed to such as are merely technical or profes-

* Latin grammar and easy translations are all I ask for in these schools. Any acquaintance with Roman literature (most valuable for the purposes of higher education) is too much to expect where the years of study are so limited.

sional. Not only will boys so trained turn out wiser men and better citizens, but in the long run they will prove more successful lawyers, farmers, or tradesmen, than if they had narrowed their education more exclusively to the purposes of these several callings.

From my conversations with the masters of such schools, I well know how anxious many among them are to give their instruction more of this character ; and how difficult and almost hopeless they find it to combat single-handed and unsupported the prejudices and short-sighted wishes of the parents. Such men will gladly accept the support of the university, over-ruling the prejudices of the parent by the weight of acknowledged authority, and conciliating him by the offer of an honourable distinction.

Such is the purpose of this *Cambridge school examination scheme*.

Two years after the Cambridge experiment, which I have been noticing, came the "Schools' Inquiry Commission," whose invaluable report, it may well be hoped, is only the precursor of a careful and extensive reform of our middle school education. Being asked by Lord Taunton to furnish the commission with my views as to "*the best subjects of instruction*" for the schools under their inquiry, I will here repeat the substance of my reply.

Preliminarily I deprecate the terms "middle class school, middle class education," so frequently used in speaking of these schools. They are indefinite and invidious : and, what is more, misleading, when one comes to consider the subject.

Tell a man to prescribe three several courses of instruction, one for the aristocracy, another for the middle class, and a third for labourers' children ; and the wiser the man, the greater will be his bewilderment. But ask him to organise three several courses of instruction, one for youths who will be under tuition

until they come of age, another for those whose education will be continued up to fifteen or sixteen, and a third for those whose schooling must be completed at twelve years old, and he will at once know what he is about ; each course, the three years' course, the six years' course, the twelve years' course, must be complete in itself, and therefore, to a great extent, distinct from the others ; for if the first be a mere fragment of the second, and the second of the third, the result will be a failure ; each, so far as it goes, must be an organic whole.

The school which a sensible man, so applied to, would organise for the middle group, I call a *middle school*.

It seems to me most desirable to adopt this term (thus interpreted), instead of "*middle-class-school*." Our definitions would then stand thus :—

An *elementary school* would be a school suitable for those who have to be content with the smallest amount of schooling ; who have to go to work at twelve or thirteen.

A *middle school* would be one suitable for those who aim at a middling amount of schooling, having to enter on the business of life at fifteen or sixteen.

A *classical school* would be a school of the highest kind of instruction, such as cannot profitably be attempted unless likely to be continued up to twenty-one or twenty-two.

(I am not speaking of girls' education.)

If, then, I were offering advice to one about to take charge of a *middle school* (for boys,) thus defined, I should say to him—

1. Your time being so limited, be careful that what you put into it be what is (in the true sense of the word) *educational*, i.e., good *discipline* to a growing mind, training it to habits of active, clear, patient thought.

Now, for learning to read thoughtfully and to express one's-self also thoughtfully, there is confessedly nothing like transla-

tion from one language into another, and for learning to sustain attention and reason carefully there is nothing equal to the study of mathematics.

2. *Attempt nothing that cannot be completed in five or six years.* This cuts out Greek altogether, versification in Latin, and of mathematics all that requires the higher calculus.

3. So far as you can, without trespassing against the first rule, aim at what will be *useful in after life*. Therefore

a. If you have not time for both Latin and French, choose French ; and in French let the translations be partly of the conversational and epistolary sort.

b. Of mathematics give the preference to what leads on to practical applications ; of pure mathematics what is needful hereunto and no more ; then, commercial arithmetic, (book-keeping, interest, discount, stocks, &c. ;) mensuration of surfaces and solids, (for which logarithms would be needful,) and of mechanics, hydrostatics, and optics, enough for the explanation of common machines and instruments.

c. Having regard to the probability of an active rather than a studious life, by all means associate with your mathematics as much *skill* as possible in drawing and in the use of instruments. Thus associated with science, these arts become (what in themselves they are not) educational, and so fulfil the first rule.

But this rule of *usefulness* is to be limited not only by the first rule, but also by the two following :—

4. The studies of the class-room must be those wherein progress can be definitely measured by *examination*. For examination is to the student what the target is to the rifleman—there can be no habit of definite aim, no real training without it.

This cuts down the number of subjects which “Rule 3”

might otherwise suggest, more than one inexperienced in the work of examination might anticipate. Trials of skill in penmanship and drawing may be obviously included at once in an examination. For the rest those questions only are suitable for purposes of examination which admit of answers definitely "right" or "wrong." And again, those questions only are desirable which cannot be answered well without active thought; without, in other words, the application of old principles to new cases.

It will be seen at once how singularly excellent in both these respects are grammar and mathematics. The boy has never before seen the passage he is asked to construe, or the problem he has to work; but all that is required for either is the application of the principles which he has learned; and the value of his answer in either case can be definitely measured by marks.

It will be understood also how unsuitable for examination are all subjects which admit of loose and wordy answers, or which test mere memory alone.

If examinations were restricted to subjects really suitable for examination, we should hear no more of that bane of modern education, "*cram*."

Geography, history, political economy, physiology, and the like, are delightful matters for private study, and for lectures; and should be encouraged to the utmost by way of prize essays, but should never enter into the subject-matter of an examination which is to issue in an order of merit. Got up for an examination, their effect on the mind is merely stupefying.

In this last group I would include religious knowledge; and so suggest (by the way) a solution of much administrative difficulty. For if religious subjects were lifted out of the classroom into the lecture-room, and encouraged, not by examina-

tions, but by prize essays, few parents would object to what was left of the religious element in the daily devotions and discipline of the school.

5. One more limiting rule there is, the importance of which might, perhaps, be overlooked by one unaccustomed to school keeping.

The boys should as much as possible be driven in a team, *i.e.*, be following the same course of instruction. Out-riders are a great encumbrance, not only wasting the teaching-power, but also making just classification, and therefore discipline, very difficult. Parents are ever asking for this or that kind of instruction with a view to this or that business in life. The answer should be, "Your boy comes here for instruction, not for *apprenticeship*." Such subjects as chemistry, botany, agriculture, should be relegated into the recreation hours.

To sum up what practically results from my five rules: My middle school should teach *all* its boys by way of staple: (1.) French and Latin; and (2.) the lower mathematics, leading on to practical applications.

Alongside of this there should be, in the way of occasional lectures and prize essays, encouragement given to the study of divinity, history, geography, English literature, and any other specialty to which the master might have a bias.

And for recreation, a gymnastic ground, a field-garden, and, if possible, a laboratory.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS OF THE PROFESSIONAL AND MIDDLE CLASSES.

THE general attention which the subject of girls' education has received of late in our magazines and journals, is significant of a want, and (what is more) of the consciousness of that want on the part of those whom it most concerns. The higher education of girls is not what it ought to be ; and women are themselves convinced of it. Nor need this backwardness of girls' education excite surprise. It was only in the last generation that England began to be ashamed of the dead low water in which, for a whole century or more, education of all kinds had been stranded. Slowly the tide of public opinion was seen to rise. The first to be floated into more intellectual life were the two ancient universities. Twenty years later our great public schools were launched on a career of reform not yet completed. During another twenty years the rising flood swept over the parishes of the land, and our elementary day-schools were reorganised. Quite lately the tidal wave of improvement has been trying to force its way into the great Mediterranean of middle class schools so long closed to it. What wonder if now at length, and not till now, we see it rippling into the narrow creeks and shallow bays in which the education of our sisters and daughters has, wisely or unwisely, been hitherto secluded?

It is doubtless to the privacy and retirement of girls' education that its comparative backwardness is to be ascribed.

Wherever circumstances have brought it forward into the light of the day, it has quickly appropriated and profited by all the best influences of the age. The measure of success which has attended the classes at Queen's College in Harley Street, and the Ladies' College in Bedford Square, and (lately) the Cambridge experimental examinations; and still more strikingly the efficiency of those highly organised institutions—the like of which no other nation can as yet show—our training colleges for schoolmistresses, afford evidence how capable of improvement is this feminine side of national education.

Let any one who wishes to be convinced of the inferiority of the private education now for the most part given to our girls, especially those of the middle classes, visit these training colleges, and contrast what he will there find with what goes on in his own schoolroom at home, or in the boarding-school to which he may have sent his daughters. In the training colleges he finds all the methods and appliances which the latest experience has suggested; an apparatus and a literature which their own intelligent requirements may be said to have created; animated collective lectures alternated with silent study; oral instruction with written reproduction; a staff of teachers who have not only much mental cultivation, but also professional skill in developing the intelligence of those whom they teach; and, above all, the results of this teaching frequently tested and fixed by a searching and thorough-going system of examination.

It may be very safely asserted, and without any imputation of blame when all the circumstances are taken into account, that in our own daughters' schoolrooms or boarding-schools we should find little or nothing of all this. We should find highly accomplished most painstaking governesses, and here and there an apt pupil advancing rapidly under their care; but, as a rule, a very small amount of professional skill, an inferior set of schoolbooks, a vast deal of dry uninteresting task-work,

rules put into the memory with no explanation of their principles, no system of examination worthy of the name, a very false estimate of the relative value of the several kinds of acquirement, a reference to effect much more than to solid worth, a tendency to fill or adorn rather than to strengthen the mind. Many of our best governesses would be among the first to confess the truth of this contrast. How should they, with their limited sphere of opportunities, compete with those professionally-trained teachers? How few of our governesses—how few of the teachers in our girls' boarding-schools—have had any kind of specific training for their work! And if more of them had it, how very few parents would value them one whit the more on that account! Here, in truth, in the parent, far more than in the teacher lies the blame. In any reform there is much more hope of having the teachers than of having the parents on our side.

How, then, are we to reach the parents? How are we to open their eyes generally to the worthlessness of mere accomplishment as a means of mental training? It is to be done in three ways—first, by the discussion of the subject in our periodical literature; secondly and chiefly, by a judicious and very carefully organised system of examination, conducted by some body of examiners whose reports will at once carry weight and authority; and lastly, by the silent but surely progressive influence of example.

With regard to the first—the public discussion of the subject; where the matter itself is so delicate, and where the sensibilities of the public are naturally so susceptible, it is most important that it should be treated simply, modestly, and practically; any declamation, or mere theory, or admixture of what may be called ulterior matter, will only damage the cause. An essay or an address that began with a comparison of the intellectual powers, or of the social status of men and women respectively,

would do nothing but harm ; would set all the more sensible of the public dead against us. Whereas a writer or speaker who fastened on some particular blot—on arithmetic, for instance, in which it is admitted on all hands that girls are very defectively instructed—and proceeded to teach us how to mend the defect, would do great good, would be far more likely to arrest and conciliate the attention of parents, and so lead on to further reform.

Some, however, there are who speak with a weight of authority on this subject that none will venture to gainsay. All sensible people will listen with deference when a man like the late Professor Faraday tells us that the credulity which ascribes to supernatural influences the thaumaturgic tricks of table-turning, spirit-rapping, second sight, and the like, argues an amount of ignorance, and a confusion of thought, which would be ridiculous if they were not so deplorable. Parents will hearken with anxiety when men of the highest medical eminence—like the late Sir Benjamin Brodie—tell us that very much of the hysteria and hypochondria of women is due to the want of a more invigorating discipline of the mind in early life. Economists and philanthropists will admit the logic of our statistics, which reveal hundreds of thousands of women compelled to earn their livelihood at unfairest disadvantage, owing to the incompleteness and inaccuracy of their education. A homely proverb often goes farther than all the reasoning in the world ; and “A man is what a woman makes him,” is a truth that might well (one would think) lead us to consider very seriously the quality of the education that we are giving to the mothers of the next generation.

In an age of free inquiry, and almost boundless mental activity, it behoves us to remember a fact which history most surely teaches, that the moral and spiritual progress of mankind has ever been the healthiest when mothers, wives, and sisters

have been the intellectual companions of their sons, their husbands, and their brothers. Two such periods, notably, England has seen ; the Elizabethan age, and the present. In both it was her good fortune to be governed by a woman of great intellectual power and statesman-like training. Such example in such high place did not fail three hundred years ago, and is not now failing to stimulate the women of England. The age of Elizabeth produced Lady Jane Grey, whose knowledge of Greek so delighted the venerable Ascham ; Sir Anthony Cook's four illustrious daughters, one, the mother of Bacon, another, the wife of Burleigh ; that "subject of all verse, Sydney's sister, Pembroke's mother ;" the blighted Mary of Scotland ; the Killigrews, famous through three successive generations ; and many others ; a constellation of women such as we have rarely seen, who far more largely than is supposed influenced the destiny of this nation. Let us hope—we have already good ground to hope—that our present age will be similarly distinguished. But much has yet to be done to remove the unreasonable prejudices which a hundred and fifty years of indifference to woman's mental culture have ingrained in modern public opinion. And as was before said, the more quietly, and modestly, and practically it is done, the surer and the more lasting will be the progress.

And this brings us to the most important of the means of improvement above mentioned—a judicious and very carefully organised system of examinations for girls. And here, indeed, we touch the matter in the very quick ; and the greatest caution will be needed. But, that examination of some kind must come first, is to any one conversant with education an evident necessity. Let us examine what is old before we introduce a single thing that is new. He who changes least is nearly always the best reformer. The true method is to bring forward what is good in the education actually

going on ; the bad will by that very process fall into the rear. Not only in a few training colleges here and there, but in very many of our best private boarding-schools, and still more in the homes of our higher gentry, there is doubtless—it would be preposterous to question it—much real education of a very high order going on, which, if it were only made known and more widely diffused, would leave nothing to be desired. The misfortune is that those who have attained to this excellence as teachers of girls form no sort of commonwealth, give no currency to their valuable ideas, fail to influence the thousands of others. And these thousands of others, how are they to become aware of their comparative shortcomings? Or if they are aware, how are they to know where to apply for better counsel and example? Or how—for here, too, as in the lower trades, supply will follow demand—how are the parents to know the successful from the unsuccessful, the efficient from the inefficient teachers?

For all these several purposes, to inform public opinion, to attest good teachers, to make inferior teachers conscious of their inferiority, and show them exactly where they need improvement, to guide parents in the choice of schools or teachers, and above all, to give more fixedness of purpose to girls' studies, some scheme of independent periodic examination is unquestionably needed.

This last motive for providing such regular examinations for girls, namely, to give a more definite aim to their reading, will be understood and appreciated by all who are engaged in the work of education. Dr Arnold seems to have felt it. In 1841 he wrote to Sir John Coleridge as follows :—

“I feel quite as strongly as you do the extreme difficulty of giving to girls what really deserves the name of education intellectually. When —— was young I used to teach her some Latin with her brothers, and that has been, I think, of real use to her ; and she

feels it now in reading and translating German, of which she does a great deal. But there is nothing for girls like the degree examination, which concentrates one's reading so beautifully, and makes one master a certain number of books perfectly. . . . I do not see how we can supply sufficient encouragement for systematic and laborious reading, or how we can ensure many things being retained at once fully in the mind, when we are wholly without the machinery which we have for boys."

So wrote Dr Arnold with curious appositeness to our subject twenty-eight years ago.

Professor Plumptre (whose experience not only as one of our most eminent theological teachers, but also more especially as Dean and Director of the Queen's College in Harley Street, makes his opinion most valuable) said four years ago :—

"Girls desire knowledge and self-knowledge for their own sakes. They wish their knowledge not to be hollow, superficial, or merely ornamental, but solid and substantial. This, I think, shows itself in the eagerness with which the experimental examination of December was welcomed by the girls. They have their examinations in their own colleges, and they enter very warmly into them. Even in colleges where the whole system of prizes has been from the very first excluded, I find that they enter into examinations with the utmost possible eagerness. But I feel that the work of teaching and the work of examining are best separated. There is a danger, when their teachers are also their examiners, lest their work should be too much limited to special lines of thought or reading. They need some external standard, something to satisfy them that they are not merely pleasing their own teachers : they desire that kind of knowledge which will satisfy an examiner who has no prejudices in their favour, and who is prepared to test the knowledge of those who have been taught in different places and by different teachers."

Of what sort, then, should these examinations be? First of all, for the reason given by Professor Plumptre, namely, for the girl's own satisfaction, and still more for the satisfaction of the teachers, of the parents, and of the public—in order that the

examination may not only be—but may also be known to be—thoroughly honest and impartial, it is necessary that it be external to the schools. This is so self-evident that no more need be said on this point. The annual examinations, held by inspectors, of students in training colleges ; those held by the Society of Arts, of students in mechanics' institutes and the like ; those held by the two universities, of boys in the professional and middle classes—afford examples of the facility and absolute fairness with which a central board of examiners—thanks to our postal system—can hold simultaneous and identical examinations all over the country. On a given day, at a given hour, a set of printed questions on English grammar, for instance, is received at twenty or a hundred different places up and down the country. The questions are answered on paper in absolute silence, in the time specified, by a group of students in each of those twenty or hundred places ; the written answers are sealed up, without being read, and posted that same day to the examiner in London who set the questions ; and he, in the following week or fortnight, reads over the aggregate of papers, marking the merit of each answer. So with arithmetic, and so with each other subject ; each subject being committed to a separate examiner. This plan of examination might almost be called one of the great discoveries of our day. It unites three remarkable advantages : first, the greatest possible economy of labour ; second, absolute uniformity of standard ; and third—and this especially recommends it as suitable for the purpose we are considering—all the security of the utmost publicity in one sense, combined with the very strictest privacy (if desired) in another sense. This last point needs perhaps further explanation. None of the students need appear personally before the examiner ; in their own schoolroom if they are school-girls ; if not, then in some large room in some country town (as, for instance, the

room where they meet for dancing lessons) they may answer the questions ; the only requirement is that it be done under the eye of some person whose presence is a sufficient guarantee to the public that the work is done honestly—the clergyman of the parish, or a committee of ladies, for instance. They need not even, if it be thought desirable, affix their names to their papers ; a number—serving to identify the girl to her teachers and friends—is all that need be seen by the examiner or appear in the printed class list. But whether the girl's name appear or not, the name of her school, if it be at all a considerable one, should undoubtedly be appended. With these securities for the privacy, if desired, of each individual girl, the printed list might be circulated all over the country. Each girl and her friends would know where she stood in the order of merit, and therefore what the comparative worth of her instruction had been ; and the public would observe what schools appeared to have most pupils occupying a high place.

So much for the kind of examination : there remains the more difficult question, Who should be the examiner ? Before this question is answered, there is a consideration of the highest importance which should be taken into account. Those who have not been much experienced in examinations may not be altogether aware how universally, how inevitably the examination reacts on the studies of those examined. This necessary tendency of examination constitutes at once their great value and their great danger. Not only does the board of examiners tend to become a sort of council of reference for the guidance of the teachers, but the character of their questions one year will certainly influence the character of the studies during the next. If they happen to give prominence to any one branch of knowledge in their papers of questions, that branch of knowledge will receive increased attention on the part of the teachers ; if they happen to omit, or to touch very

slightly, any one subject of instruction, that subject will be neglected. The experience of the inspectors of schools, and the experience of the university local examiners, proves this unmistakably.

Now this inevitable tendency throws a very heavy responsibility upon those who shall undertake to conduct these examinations of girls. Whether they wish it or no, they will be influencing and modifying girls' education—at least girls' studies—all over the country. Before all other qualifications for the task, it behoves them to have the qualification of wisdom, of a right and healthy judgment in this matter of girls' education. "Shall we set a paper on Latin, or shall we not?" "How far shall we go in mathematics?" "Shall we propose an exercise in needlework?" "Shall we give higher marks to English grammar, or to drawing?" "How shall we test music?" "Of what sort shall our examination in religious knowledge be?" "What form shall our list of merit assume?" "Shall the standard be absolute or competitive?" Such will be the kind of questions they will be expected to answer. To whom will the teachers, to whom will the nation, intrust with confidence the determination of these problems?

It has been proposed to confide the examination to the boards who conduct the university local examinations. And when one considers the admirable way in which they are discharging their present task, one can hardly be surprised at the suggestion.

But, assuming for one moment, what is so improbable as to be almost out of the question, that the two universities were to consent to undertake this very novel task,* would this—viewing the matter from the girls' side—be desirable? Any one who

* While these sheets are going through the press, I learn, to my infinite surprise—not knowing which to admire most, the courage or the gallantry of my university—that Cambridge has undertaken the task; and that in July next—not merely school girls, but—"women who have completed the age of eighteen years" will be admitted to the *local examinations*, under the superintendence

approaches the question from the point of view here suggested, and weighs well the very heavy and novel responsibility of the task, will hesitate before he intrusts it to a committee of junior fellows of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, who, though admirably conversant with boys' studies and habits of thought, of girls, and their requirements, know little or nothing. Of course, if the country is content that the girls' examination should be in all respects assimilated to that of the boys, so that the only responsibility thrown on the university examiners should be the printing of a few more questions, and the revision of a few more answers, then their want of special fitness for the task would be unimportant.

But even in this case it may be doubted whether this indirect connexion, or even any possible association of the matter in the public mind, with the two universities is desirable. John Bull has a wholesome conviction that human machines, as well as other machines, accomplish their work best when confined to the uses for which they were originally intended. Oxford and Cambridge were intended to educate men. Of women's education they profess, as universities, to know nothing. Cambridge, of her courtesy, may have delighted to lodge Mrs Somerville in Newton's chamber, when that illustrious lady visited Trinity College; but Mrs Somerville would be the last to ask, and Cambridge (even if competent) would be the last to consent, that she should be examined in their Senate House as a candidate for mathematical honours.

But seriously, do the women of England desire that the course of girls' study should be altogether assimilated to that of boys? And at the risk of weariness it must be repeated, that every subject omitted in this examination will more or less go to the wall in consequence; so that it will be of no avail for

of committees of ladies at the various local centres. I fear the remainder of this chapter will appear to many of my friends already out of date. But I have no wish to unsay what I have written.

parents or teachers to say, "You will not be examined in needlework, nor in vocal music, nor in domestic economy, but we wish you by no means to remit your attention to these subjects during the year." Assimilated more and more the two courses of study will inevitably be, if one and the same board of examiners undertake both. And is this what the nation wishes?

Is not the true end of education to make the best of the growing human creature after its kind? Is not the highest excellence of man to be manly, and of woman to be womanly? Is not a masculine woman as much a failure as an effeminate man? Are not the two sexes, in mental constitution as in all else, marvellously, beautifully, distinctly supplemental, one to the other? Did any, except One only, ever combine in a single pattern the highest excellences of each? Surely the differences between men and women are differences of kind, not of degree; anything like competition between the two would be as unwholesome as it would be unmeaning. Let men and women, by all means, if they wish it, study the same branches of knowledge with a most absolute liberty; but let them do it each in their own way, following each their own nature freely; and then, under nature's free unconscious guidance, each will develop their own congenial excellence, and the self-adjusting balance of humanity will not be disturbed.

It seems desirable, then, considering how certainly examination reacts on study, that, as men and men's schools have developed their own system of examination, so women and women's schools should develop theirs. Let women ask the assistance of men in this particular or in that, by all means; but let the two organisations be distinct, for fear of gradually and unconsciously forcing into one groove what nature meant to be in two. As was before said, it would be unreasonable to assume that in the many excellent girls' schools scattered over the country, we cannot find the type of examiner that we want.

Let a beginning be made; let some of the professors who have lent their aid in Harley Street or in Bedford Square, with the superintendents of any three or four girls' schools of acknowledged excellence, meet together; let them ask some three or four whose names would carry great weight with the country—such as Sir John Coleridge, or the Archbishop of Dublin, or Professor Maurice—to join them. Let these form a council of female education, and meet at all events before and after each annual examination, say three or four times in the year. Let them select from their own number (to which they should have power to add) a sub-committee of examiners; the whole council should determine the subjects and revise the questions before they are printed, as well as the annual report; but the actual labour should devolve on the sub-committee, who should receive the fees. Do not tie them down with too stringent regulations at first; but let the thing grow like a plant, gathering and assimilating the nourishment of experience and of criticism as it goes on. And a far more wholesome start would be made than if any ready-made organisation were borrowed for the purpose.

One word, in conclusion, on the last head—the progressive influence of a good example. If any one objects to this plan that it would be slower in its early operation, and would carry less prestige at first, than an organisation already ramified over the country, and inscribed with the name of the two universities, the objection is in fact the greatest recommendation. Gamaliel's principle is ever the best principle in a free country. All that a new institution really wants in England is to be "let alone." If our counsel be foolish it will come to nought; if it meet a real need, it will prevail, and no early difficulties will overthrow it. Let the thing be tried; the more quietly and modestly the better. Whatever credit, and whatever extension it is good that it should have, it will best and most surely win for itself.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE TEACHER'S DIFFICULTIES.

No one can have seen much of the work of elementary schools, especially in the mining and manufacturing districts, without being aware that indeed the teacher's task is in no ordinary degree an arduous one. I have seen him at the end of his day's work, pale with the impure air and confinement of a crowded school, exhausted by over tension of mind and continual trials of temper, pained and dispirited by the waywardness and carelessness of his children ; returning wearily to his home or his lodging, where his scanty means deny him the refreshments he so much needs, and where perhaps he sees written in the faces of his wife and infants evidence of the domestic sacrifice in which his work involves him ; and worst of all, feeling that he has to bear all this alone, that he has no redress, little or no compassion or kindly encouragement to look for ;—that if he goes to the parents of those children for whom he is spending his strength, he will meet with indifference or perhaps abuse ; if to the managers, whose confidence he has a right to claim, he will find himself regarded as their pensioner rather than their almoner, and—most cruel mockery—will be met by an ill-concealed or perhaps openly-expressed doubt, whether all his schooling is not doing more harm than good. All this I have seen and felt ; and I have gone to my lodging myself too at the end of a day's inspection, dispirited and dejected to think how little I had done or could do to

help and cheer that good man under the pressure of his daily load.

Glad indeed shall I be if any teacher, who may have thought this description in some points applicable to his own case, may, by reading these pages, see more clearly how to face his difficulties, and with God's help to overcome them.

The teacher's difficulties may be considered under four principal heads: (I.) the children; (II.) the parents; (III.) the public; and (IV.) the teacher's self.

I. For the first class of difficulties, those connected with the children, I might dismiss them at once by saying, that for a teacher to plead difficulty *here* is to confess inefficiency in his art, inasmuch as his proper business confessedly is to convert naughty ignorant children into well-behaved intelligent children; and to say that he finds a difficulty in doing this is only saying, in other words, that he is so far a bad teacher. But I am unwilling to dismiss this complaint so summarily: I have heard this sort of difficulty so often pleaded—and this by men of the most conscientious industry, and not seldom of more than ordinary skill—that I have felt bound to listen to their plea with more respect.

The plea has generally been urged in such cases as the following:—A school is undergoing inspection, and being examined on the gallery; the children appear very ignorant, making the strangest blunders in matters which their teacher assures the examiner they ought to know thoroughly. Anxious to ascertain whether it be due to want of skill in the teacher, the examiner asks him to break them up into their classes, and to go on with the usual lessons. He listens attentively to the master's instruction, finds it skilfully imparted, and out of a well-stored mind, and feels sure that such lessons ought to make a strong impression, and to be remembered. Here then the case seems to be fairly made out—the fault lies with the

children ; and in despair, as if there were a sort of fatality about the children of that neighbourhood, the master gives notice to the managers, and seeks another school. Let us watch his successor. He is a man, it may be, of inferior ability ; but the boys like his sanguine good-humoured face better than the pale anxious countenance of their former master. His first business is to introduce some quick lively songs with a dash of humour in them. He takes occasion now and then—though sparingly, and only when the good behaviour of the school enables him to do it without risk, like a careful housewife who has a balance in hand, and can afford some little indulgence—to have a hearty laugh with them, by way of showing them that he is made of the same flesh and blood that they are.

He asks the managers if he may purchase a set of Robinson Crusoes, in gilt cloth, and allow all the boys, who like to buy them at a reduced price, to form a separate reading class, using this book for a while, instead of the old book of extracts, of whose brown cover they are so tired. Out of school he is equally fertile in resources ; only here he takes especial pains that each new scheme shall appear to originate with the boys themselves. He finds opportunity to tell one or two of the more spirited and lively of the boys, how, when he was at school, they formed an eleven at cricket, and beat several of the neighbouring schools ; or how they got up a flower show once a year among themselves, and had prizes for the best auriculas ; or how they got some fifes and a drum, and formed a band. The suggestion thrown out by the way is picked up, as it were, by the boys, talked over among themselves, and brought in due time before the master for his approval. He applauds their notion, suggesting that they should form a committee among themselves, and draw up certain rules for the regulation of the scheme, with self-imposed fines for those who break them.

In these and a hundred other ways, which will occur to any one familiar with a school's inner life, he infuses a new spirit into the school, giving the boys a hearty attachment to it ; and, as a natural result, in all his school work, he is with the grain instead of against the grain ; and at the inspector's next visit, his instruction, such as it is, will appear to have made far more impression on the children than the more intellectual lessons of his predecessor.

I would ask, then, every desponding anxious teacher, who complains of the difficulty he finds in attaching the boys to himself and to their work, to consider whether his own anxiety and depression is not affecting the cheerfulness of his school, and so increasing the very evil he is lamenting. I would ask him first and foremost to seek to exhilarate himself by more regular exercise, or by some diverting course of private study, or if he can, by a short trip to the sea-side ; and then to endeavour with as much inventiveness as possible to exhilarate and reanimate his school.

II. But secondly, we come to a new class of difficulties, of which it may seem hardly fair to say that their presence argues inefficiency in the teacher. For take a first-rate teacher : conceive the two characters I have been sketching moulded together, so as to combine the intellectual excellence of the one with the sanguine temperament of the other. He might still say, "I have done all you suggested ; I have, I believe, made the boys fond of their work, and attached them to myself and to the school ; but I almost despair of really educating them or seeing them turn out as I wish, while the cupidity and carelessness of the parents make their attendance so irregular, and their time of leaving so premature, and while the evil influence of their homes more than counteracts the good influence of the school."

These are indeed most formidable difficulties ; and in some

districts where the demand for children's labour is very great, it may be they can only be effectually met by the intervention of the law—as in the case of the Factory Acts—protecting the children against the greed of gain, which would sacrifice their future welfare for the sake of the few shillings they can earn each week in childhood.

But without waiting for the very tardy operation of the Legislature, an active and sensible teacher may do much, I am convinced, to arrest the evil, and conciliate the parents' co-operation. Here more than anywhere there is need of fertility of resource and power of self-adaptation to local requirements; what succeeds admirably in one place might entirely fail in another. Any general rules, therefore, are out of the question. I can only throw out a few suggestions by way of example.

1. And first I may mention visiting the children's homes, and taking every opportunity of cultivating friendly relations with the parents; and if the master find it difficult to pursue a middle path between reserve and the imputation of pride on the one hand, and too great familiarity on the other—let this be his rule: always to remember himself, and let not the parents forget, that he visits them as the schoolmaster of their children. Let this be his standing ground, and it will at once make plain the social relation between himself and them, and give him the best access to the parent. Let him convince them that he takes an interest in their children *individually*; that his aim is not so much to have a good school that will do him credit, but rather to let Mrs Smith see and feel that he takes a personal interest in her son Harry, and Mrs Brown that he rightly understands both the faults and the virtues of her son Edward. It was in this way that many a village dominie of the olden time won an amount of adhesion and support from the parents that his more modern successor might well envy.

2. There is another lesson, too, that we shall do well to learn from the masters of the old-fashioned adventure schools. They were quick to find out what part of all the instruction the parents valued most—it would probably be whatever made the most palpable show, whatever they could see with their eyes and handle with their hands, the copy-book or the account book, or the coloured map—this they took care to put most prominently before the parents, choosing it for the home task, and sending it to them when finished; and contriving that the good and regular boys should have much to show in this way, and the careless irregular boys but little.

3. Then again I have gained another hint from the older race of teachers. I have found them keeping careful count of the after progress of their former scholars, how many are apprenticed well, and of how many they have received such and such testimonials of good conduct and usefulness from their employers. This sort of register of old scholars should always be kept, and when occasion serve, laid before the parents. The school will soon get a name for turning out well-conducted, useful lads, and so come to be viewed as an avenue to better kinds of employment. The effect of this will be invaluable on the parents. Induce them to attend some evening; and before them and before the children let some one of the managers or supporters of the school, who may have most influence in the place, read out the names and characters of those former scholars who are doing their school most credit.

4. In connexion with this, I may also mention the experiments in the way of prize schemes that have been tried in South Staffordshire. In chapter vii. I have endeavoured to point out what I conceive to be the right use and the wrong use of prizes. Indiscriminately given, they may do infinite mischief: wisely administered, they may, I believe, be a powerful instrument towards securing the parents' co-operation.

III. The teacher's difficulties, which I have classed under my third head, are those that he meets with in his relations to the public : difficulties, I mean, arising from the estimation in which he and his work are held by his school managers, it may be, or by his neighbours generally, causing him to be hindered rather than supported by the public opinion of the place. I need hardly say that I am not speaking of the rebuffs and snubs that one's personal vanity meets with occasionally : these are wholesome checks to conceit, and are not for a moment to be classed among the teacher's difficulties. The evils of which I am speaking are real evils, and of a kind that the noblest natures are most sensitive to. The great historian Niebuhr, apologising for Cicero's sensitiveness to fame, has said that, "It is natural that a deserving man should meet with acknowledgment ; for as truly as it is the will of nature that we should not lie, so also is it her will that we should honour noble acts and acknowledge them ;" and he adds, quoting Plato, "The last garment which a pure man puts off is the love of fame."

We all honour a man who feels an inward protest when right and noble efforts meet with discouragement where they have most right to claim support. I believe that one of the most righteous causes of complaint among the teachers of the present day, and one of the greatest hindrances to the progress of our national education, is the unjustly low estimate which is formed of the value of the teacher's work. Those who have a true appreciation of education and a hearty faith in its results, are still quite the exceptions. Again and again I have been astonished and disappointed to find people, who take enlightened and benevolent views of most matters, betraying a secret mistrust of education. There is an insidious scepticism confusing men's view, and unnerving their efforts, where clearness of vision and unity of effort are most needed. Equally

ominous of a wrong state of things is it to find, not unfrequently, the most forward champions of education among those whose opinions on other matters we are least inclined to subscribe to or respect.

We must speak plainly, Are we, the friends of education, altogether free from blame in this matter? I do not say, "Are we altogether to blame for this?" Certainly not; large blame rests elsewhere. But with the blame that rests elsewhere I do not wish to meddle; in all that I have said I have endeavoured to keep within our own province, and confine myself to that for which *we educators* are mainly responsible. And therefore I ask again, "Are we not in some measure to blame for this misprision of a matter so essentially good as education?" In a natural and healthy state of things it would be accepted as an axiom, that the education of all our youth was most desirable, most right and just, most necessary. It would be one of those self-evident propositions which a man would be accounted mad for denying. If it has ceased to be so, clearly the word education must have lost its native golden meaning: it is no longer a legal tender; it has been dishonoured and discredited among us. And therefore again I ask, Are we not in some degree responsible for this? Have we always paid on demand that for which our endorsements as educators made us responsible? Have we not sometimes passed off a counterfeit under the name of education?—so that the true thing and the false thing have become confused in men's minds, and hence the discredit of the term, and the misgiving about its value, and the depreciation of its agents. No greater proof of this could be adduced than the controversy about secular and religious education. Had the word education retained its proper meaning, such a separation could never have been conceived, any more than a divorce of man's spirit from his body. But into this controversy I do not wish to

enter ; I wish only to clear up the right meaning of the word *education*.

And first, it is something essentially English. I believe that in the matter of education, England, all too backward though she be, is far in advance of any other nation. The contrary has been so often asserted that this sounds almost paradoxical. I will explain myself. There is a distinction between national education and public instruction. Other nations have their *systems of public instruction* very completely organised, and in some cases almost commensurate with their population. But this is a totally different thing. In England we have nothing that can be called a scheme of public instruction, (except perhaps it be found in our recently established *schools of design* ;) and the reason why we have not is this, that some thirty years ago, when continental governments began to constitute their systems of public instruction, the English Government found that we had already indigenous among us a system of *education*, dating as far back as our Reformation in the sixteenth century, which, if fostered and encouraged, might do the work still better than the new schemes of instruction which were superseding education abroad. This, then, is the essential difference between a school in England and a school abroad : the continental school is an institution established by the central government for the instruction of its citizens ; the English school is an institution established by the people themselves, in their congregations or otherwise, for the education of their children. The one is a place where a professor, or *institutor*, to use their own term, gives class instruction at certain hours of the day in this or that set of subjects. The other is a place where—to use our good old English words—a master or a mistress, or both, gather round them a household of young people, and live among them as parents among their children. Thus the continental teacher derives his authority from the State,

the English teacher derives his authority from the *parent*, who may send or not send his child to the school, as he pleases.

And this is the second point to which I am anxious to come. By maintaining this national and traditional view of education, the English teacher gains a *natural* authority, a sort of *divine right*, in his relation to his children, which, if he prefer to become a mere professor of sciences, he must abdicate. The English schoolmaster stands to his children in the place of a parent. The parents have delegated to him this trust ; so far forth as he fulfils this trust, does he fulfil the work of *education* properly so called. And only then can he be said to educate a child, when he gives to him what a wise and good parent would most wish for him, good habits, good principles, and such instruction as may be most useful for him.

And now, let me once more ask, Have we been sufficiently mindful that this was our proper work, and the only right and English meaning of the word education ? And if we had been sufficiently careful to put it prominently forward in this sense in our thoughts and words and deeds, would the thing itself have fallen into the discredit and jealousies that have so much impeded it ? The more the teacher feels that he stands in the position of a parent towards his children,—the more his light so shines among his neighbours, that they may see clearly how deeply he feels this parental responsibility,—the more will his office be respected, and rightly valued in the public opinion of this country.

IV. And this leads me to the last, and perhaps the largest class of a teacher's difficulties, I mean those that are connected with his own self ; so large a class, indeed, that it may well be questioned whether it be a class at all, and do not rather embrace all those other classes that we have enumerated. For those difficulties connected with the children—did they not re-

solve themselves into this, that the teacher found it difficult to be himself sufficiently cheerful and inventive to engage and sustain his children's interest in their work? And those difficulties with the parents—did it not appear that they might be much lessened by greater considerateness and attention on his part in his dealings with the parents? And thirdly, in the difficulties that beset him with respect to public estimation—is it not at least open to question, whether it be not in part his own misconception of his true position which has led others to misconceive in turn of him? And, to conclude, may not many other evils incident to the lot of a teacher, such as want of health, depression of spirits, differences with school managers, frequent change of situation, be also in a great measure overcome by efforts on the teacher's part?

It would, perhaps, be more just to say, that from my strong desire to make my words practically useful to teachers, I wish to consider these difficulties only so far as they may be overcome, or at least lessened by their own efforts. For to picture school buildings more commodious and roomy than they are, or to describe how school managers might bear themselves more justly and more reasonably than they do, or to conceive how the work of education might be carried on under other and more favourable laws or conditions than those which now exist, would be a mere waste of time. And if, in venturing to speak of what most nearly touches the teacher's self, I seem to use too much boldness or plainness of speech, I shall still claim his indulgence, feeling assured that I should be paying a poor compliment to his sincerity and manliness, if I sought rather for words and topics that might be easier for me to express, and pleasanter for him to read, and failed to speak out what is really in my mind on this matter.

In conclusion, then, may not all those many difficulties that beset and hinder and depress those who are labouring in the

work of education, be traceable to one great fault—a want of single-mindedness? If we had more singleness of purpose, more simplicity of aim, more of that one purpose and that one aim of which I have spoken, which is to do a parent's work for each child with whom we have to deal, trying to destroy what is evil in him, and to nurture all that is good, if we endeavoured to subordinate all other purposes, our reputation, our gains, our advancement, our comforts, to this one purpose, looking upon each child so gained as ample reward and compensation for whatever toil or whatever disappointments we might have endured—should we not be most surely happier, and more successful than we are?

Or if we may attain to that other and yet higher view of the work of education,—that after all it is not *our* work, but *God's* work, that He wills it, and that His Holy Spirit will make it prevail,—counting it, indeed, a blessed privilege to be, in ever so small a measure, employed by Him in carrying it on, but caring chiefly that, with our service or without our service, the work itself shall go forward,—will not this give us a faith in education, before the light of which all the shadowy difficulties that we have been considering—difficulties in our own little world, or in the larger world around us, difficulties with others, or in the recesses of our own heart—one and all, by God's blessing, will be dispelled!

CHAPTER XIV.

ON THE MOST EFFECTIVE MODE OF PROMOTING PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY THROUGH OUR PARISH SCHOOLS.

IN writing on this subject my thoughts at once revert to those three or four hundred schools with which, for a period of fourteen years, I was so familiar as a school inspector in three of our northern counties. Among those three or four hundred schools, some stand out in my memory, in clear and strong relief, as emphatically *Christian* schools. Let me explain what I mean by this. *All* the schools under my inspection were conducted on Church principles ; of more than *half* I could say that they had reached a very satisfactory state of efficiency ; but of some of them I could say more than this—to an extent that I can hardly perhaps explain, I felt that, over and above mere efficiency, they were *animated by a religious spirit*—so strikingly, that one came away glad at heart, and only wishing that more children could breathe such daily influences. The countenances of the children, their relation to their teachers, the earnest and thoughtful way in which they addressed themselves to their work, and still more, what I heard of their after-career, the letters of former scholars, what the clergyman told me of his confirmation classes, and of the indirect effect on the state of the parish in the course of time—all this went to make up the impression on my mind of which I speak.

Here clearly, necessarily, there was at work some “ effective

mode of promoting practical Christianity through our parochial schools." What was it?

To answer this question, I must try to analyse as best I can that sacred influence for good, of which—whatever it was—the results were so manifest.

I. First and foremost—need I say it?—it was due to the character of the teacher. In all these schools, so distinguished in my retrospect, the master or mistress was a God-fearing Christian. In all these schools, not in the religious lesson only, not in school-hours only, but throughout the day, the children saw that their teachers had the fear of God before their eyes. The children saw in them no change of manner, no increased anxiety, when visitors or school inspectors entered the room. During the morning and evening prayers, whether the children were praying or not, one thing was clear, the teacher was praying for them. Another thing I may mention under this same head : in all these schools the teachers had been many years at work ; this kind of influence is not to be won in a year or two. A teacher who is often migrating never wins it.

II. In the second place, I put the relation of the teacher to the parents. Often and often elsewhere I heard the teachers complaining—even within the hearing of the children—of the parents. In these schools of which I am speaking, never. Not that they escaped annoyance—far from it ; but they lived it down by patient perseverance. I remember one mistress telling me how a parent had really persecuted her for years ; until one day the child fell sick, and was laid up for some weeks : the teacher's visits to the home during that sickness entirely won the rough parent's heart, and she had no more trouble in that family. A common plan, and a very good one, is to send weekly or monthly reports of the child's conduct and progress to the parents, noting especially how many hours'

or days' schooling the child has lost through irregular attendance. When the parents see this in the lump, and the resulting backwardness brought into direct relation to it, their eyes are opened to the mischief of such irregularity. But however wayward and foolish the parents are, it is of golden importance to remember the fifth commandment ; numbers of teachers, and of the clergy too, err in not remembering that after all the parent's authority is paramount to theirs. When the waywardness and foolishness go so far that harmonious action becomes impossible, the child should leave the school, rather than risk the scandal and harm of conflict between the two authorities.

III. My third head is discipline, in which I include the whole moral government of the school. All those teachers whom I have in my eye just now were *strict* disciplinarians. I never heard them talking sentimentally about "ruling by love." That many of the children did love them was evident, but they *feared* them too. There was an uncompromising steadiness in their administration which made the children fear them. This is wholesome and right. Nay, a child will never deeply love a teacher or parent whom he does not also fear. Reverence is love mingled with fear ; and beyond all things Christianity requires of us to train our children to feelings of reverence. On this matter of discipline a volume might be written. I must dismiss it with one or two practical remarks. A really religious teacher may entirely fail for want of *skill*. There is no matter in which self-made teachers so commonly fail. The saving that may be effected in time and temper, and in the pain of punishment, by skilful methods of discipline, is of untold value. I remember a most conscientious, tender-hearted teacher coming to me almost in distress because of the amount of punishment he found necessary in his school. He said that for *moral* faults, untruth, cruelty, and the like, the infliction of punishment gave him comparatively no pain ; it seemed

right and wholesome thus to redress the moral balance of the school. But for faults in lesson, carelessness, forgetfulness, and the like, he longed to dispense with punishments, and yet how could he? I suggested that he should visit a neighbouring school, where there was an admirable system of *marks* in operation, given for all the work, with deductions for such faults as he mentioned, the totals resulting in an order of merit at the end of the half-year. He took the hint, studied and adopted the system, and the next year told me most gratefully that his punishments were now almost entirely confined to *moral* faults.

Above all, in this matter of discipline, let a teacher remember that his purpose is not merely to repress disorder, but to create in his children habits of order. For the first, general rules and a sort of military drill may suffice ; for the second, some study of individual character is needed, and for this a carefully kept journal of all the children's individual progress will be found of the greatest assistance.

IV. I come now to what some might have expected to find first in order of importance, the religious lessons. I advisedly postpone this matter to those three others which we have been considering. In those schools which I have characterised as so distinctly and emphatically Christian in their spirit and influence, I cannot certainly say that what we call the religious knowledge of the children—that is, their knowledge of Scripture, the Catechism, and the Liturgy—was beyond that of all other schools. Knowledge even of the most sacred subjects may be given to a child without any real training of that child's character.

The effect—religious or irreligious—of the school lessons on a child's character depends far more on the spirit in which they are given than on the quantity of the directly religious instruction included in them. I have been sometimes pained and shocked to find a school passing a really admirable examina-

tion in what we call religious knowledge, when morally and religiously the school was in an unsatisfactory state.

But given, first and foremost, the Christian-hearted teacher, working in sympathy with the parents, and maintaining a conscientious discipline, we may then safely say that the hour spent each morning over the Bible and Church Catechism will be a very powerful influence for good in forming the Christian character of the children.

That they may be so, three things are mainly needed,—that the instruction be *reverently given*, *sufficiently elementary*, and directly connected with the *daily life of the children*.

1. The religious instruction must be reverently given. There should be a marked difference between the teacher's manner of conducting these lessons and his manner of conducting other lessons. In other lessons he wants to see how sharp and active his scholars can be ; in these he wishes them to be thoughtful and serious. Taking of places, show of hands, simultaneous answering, and other artificial stimulants to attention, may be dropped. The repose of the lesson will help to make the children like it. They should be lifted easily over mere mechanical difficulties of reading and pronunciation. The backward, slow children [should feel that here they are put on a level with the forward, quick children, that mere quickness has here no merit in the teacher's eye. For their sustained attention he must trust to awakening their deeper interests. A few earnest words now and then, reminding them that they are in the presence of Him of whom they are reading, will suffice to correct any levity of tone or manner. In the junior classes there should be no painful spelling out of Scripture : the teacher should read it aloud to them.

2. The religious instruction should be sufficiently *elementary*. We must take no previous knowledge *for granted*. A child comes to school at eight years old, and is put into a class

that is reading through St Matthew's Gospel. I examine that child at the end of six months, and find he knows the narrative and the parables really well; but I chance to ask him some elementary question: "But who was this Jesus of whom you are reading?" or, "Where is He now?" or, "What is the good of saying prayer?" or, "Did you ever speak to God?" or, "What becomes of people when they die?" and I find, and the teacher is surprised and shocked to find, that the child has really none of those elementary notions of religion that we have been all along taking for granted.

Only the other day I found that some of the most intelligent girls in the first class of a good school, who had just passed an excellent examination in the four Gospels and the Acts, were in the habit of repeating, by way of prayer, every night by their bedsides, "Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, bless the bed that I lie on," &c.

It is with a view to supplying this foundation-knowledge that our Church Catechism is such an indispensable supplement to the Bible lesson.

The teacher there has occasion to go to the heart of the matter at once, whereas in his Scripture lessons he may take the child through a long course of lessons without having direct occasion to go into these rudiments. The Church Catechism well and thoroughly taught is beyond question the most valuable lesson in the school. The false position into which the controversies of politicians have thrust it, as a piece of distinctive sectarian teaching, about which Christians may fairly differ, is deeply to be regretted. It is the common property of all the Protestant Churches of the land, dating from times anterior to our divisions. With the single exception of the Baptists, (or, more properly, Anabaptists,) none have dissented from its teaching. Ponet, Colet, and Overall were the spiritual ancestors of all our orthodox communions, whether conforming or

non-conforming. But of this by the way. Wisely and discreetly used—with some slight verbal alteration for the children of Baptists—I hardly ever found Dissenters object to their children learning it.* Dissenting parents have been present while I was examining the children in it, and have said it was the most interesting part of the examination. But I pass on.

3. The religious instruction must be directly connected with the daily life of the children.

Nothing has interested me more, in overhearing the religious lessons of schools, than the way in which some of the teachers illustrated the precepts of the Bible from the familiar occurrences of the children's daily life. It is difficult to say which gained most, the Scripture text or the daily life. The Scripture text gained a reality and a hold on the conscience; the daily life gained a solemnity of sanction, and a basis of principle, that were clearly of the highest value. But this must be done very carefully, and without any risk of lowering the Scripture on the one hand, or of exaggerating trifles into undue importance on the other.

The great thing is to get at the *principles* which underlie the moral teaching of our Lord and His apostles. Unhappily, I know of no simple commentary which supplies this help to teachers. The text-books on the Gospels which I find on the few shelves of a teacher's library are of the most unsatisfactory sort. They give him far more curious learning about the topography and customs of the Holy Land than he is ever likely to need, encumbering his mind, and consequently his lesson, with all sorts of odds and ends of knowledge. But as to any

* While it is my conviction that very few parents will ever care to avail themselves of the liberty of withdrawal conceded to them, I rejoice that the principle of a conscience clause, as worded in the Duke of Marlborough's Bill, may now be said to have been accepted by a large majority of the bishops and clergy. By this acceptance we have, as I believe, purchased for ourselves, what otherwise would have been impossible, a fresh lease of the denominational system.

help how to apply the transcendant lessons of the Sermon on the Mount to the low levels of the life around him, he looks in vain for it ; or, worse still, is left quite unaware that there is any difficulty in such application.

It is not one teacher in ten that can give a really wise lesson on such passages as these : "Take no thought for the morrow ;" "If a man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also ;" "Judge not, that thou be not judged."

Here, the deeper knowledge of scriptural ethics which a clergyman's training has given him may be of great use. And this leads me to my last head.

V. *The Co-operation of the Clergyman with the Teacher.*—In none of those schools which I have in my mind's eye did the clergyman take the religious instruction entirely out of the hands of the teacher. Nor do I advise it. On the contrary, I deprecate it most earnestly. It lowers and secularises the position of the teacher, both in his own eyes and in the eyes of his pupils. If he be a religious man, you would be taking away his greatest pleasure : if he be not, the sooner he goes the better. The best, and indeed the only conclusive argument against what are called *secular* schools—that is, schools where the religious instruction is relegated to Sundays, or to the minister's teaching out of school hours—is, that it lowers and unbaptizes, so to speak, the office of the schoolmaster. None of the mothers of England would care much for a teacher who never took the Bible into his hands. The mothers of France rebelled against the system ten years ago, and in half the communes of France invited back again the Frères Chrétiens, whom the State-trained teachers had supplanted. I would therefore, as a clergyman, make it clear to my teachers that I held them responsible for the religious instruction of the children. Nay, further, to make this plain to children as well as teacher, I would often sit by, during the Scripture lesson, and thank him for it at the close,

or in some other way show my interest in it. And in the long run the children, depend upon it, will in this as in other things make more progress under a professionally-trained teacher than under one who teaches, as we clergy do, by the light of nature.

At the same time, I would ask leave now and then to give the children a lesson, and in that lesson seek to exhibit to the teacher some quality of teaching in which I had observed him deficient; as, for instance, in that matter of which I was speaking just now, the application of Scripture precepts to daily duties. Of course, any remarks on such defects in the teacher's lessons would be made in private, and with such modesty as becomes an untrained man speaking to one who has been professionally trained for the work.

Perhaps the greatest help that a clergyman can render to his teacher is by periodic examinations of the children, not only in religious knowledge, but in all their work.

And here I would suggest that he should often make this examination an *individual* one; seating himself in the classroom, and having the children in, one at a time, for five or six minutes each. Three advantages would be thus gained:—

1. He would not only test more thoroughly than in any other way the results of the teacher's work, but he would also be helping his teacher and himself to bear in mind the real end of that work, as viewed from a religious point of view—not a good *school*, but good *children*.
2. He would find that it strengthened his hands in his visits to the parents to be able to speak thus definitely of the progress of their individual children. And
3. He would find in these private interviews with them a very happy opportunity for speaking of subjects, and asking them questions, which would be hardly suitable for the public school, as, for instance, about their *private prayers*.

In these ways a clergyman may assist his teachers most effectually. But, after all, the most precious kind of aid he can render them, will be giving them his *friendship*. Friendship may seem a strong word, but I decline to lower it. A clergyman who has the highest good of the children of his parish at heart, will never rest till he has found for them a teacher whom he can in all ways regard as his friend and fellow-worker.

So I end as I began. As the teacher is, such will the school be. I have tried to gather under five heads the several conditions on which a school's effectiveness "in promoting practical Christianity" depends. But I might have well-nigh grouped them all under that first head:—*it depends on the teacher*. A really Christian teacher will create a Christian school. And a *Christian* school it is, emphatically, that the parents of England desire for their children, and to which alone they will give their confidence.

To sum up and conclude:—In the wholesome Christian influences which surround our schools under their present constitution, lies our strength ; in the parents' carelessness about their children's attendance, lies our only serious weakness. If by further legislation we can correct the latter without compromising the former, we shall have a system of education at once national and religious, in a great measure self-supporting, and in thorough harmony with the genius of our people.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

LETTERS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CONSCIENCE CLAUSE.

October 11, 1866.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,—For several reasons I regret that I am unable to attend the Congress at York, and chiefly because I would gladly have made one more effort to clear away the almost universal misunderstanding in which unceasing declamation has involved the question of the Conscience Clause. Our experience at the Norwich Congress last year showed how difficult it is to win the ear of the clergy, even for ten minutes, to any quiet, sober explanation of the real merits of the question ; and the consequence is, that nine-tenths of them still draw their notions of it from one-sided misrepresentations ; and we are not safe from drifting into a disastrous rupture between Church and State in the matter of education, which a few words of explanation (if they could only be made to reach the minds of the clergy) would obviate. And the matter is capable of the briefest explanation.

The *denominational* system, when applied to a parish containing a dissenting minority so small that they cannot have a school of their own, is on a dilemma. Shall the child of the Dissenter be left out in the cold ? Or shall the Church school be so modified as to admit him without offence to the parents' conscience ?

The Government, with the nation at its back, adopts the latter alternative.

What, then, is the modification to be ? Shall the teacher be asked to withdraw from his teaching all sectarian matter ? Or shall the parent be allowed to withdraw his child from all that he considers sectarian lessons ?

The clergy with one voice decline the first, and most rightly.

The State, therefore, must adopt the second ; and this is the true principle of a conscience clause, *absolute liberty to the Church*

teacher to teach what he likes, and absolute liberty to the Dissenting parent to withdraw his child from so much of the teaching as he dislikes.

It was the compatibility of these two principles that Lord Granville tried to make clear to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in their recent correspondence, and somehow failed, owing probably to the impracticable character of the conscience clause as worded by the Department.

But once get the clergy to understand that under this clause (very slightly altered in its wording) the responsibility of the exemption, *i.e.*, the withdrawal of the child) would rest, not upon the teacher or clergy, *but upon the parent exclusively*, and surely all objection to it would vanish.

The clause would impose no obligation whatever on the clergyman or teacher except this, that if a parent send him a written request that his child be allowed to be absent from such and such a kind of lesson, he must answer, "Yes."

Of course, if one lived in an ecclesiastical Utopia, one would prefer to exclude all symptoms of dissent from the inside of one's school. But, with the distinction between church-goers and chapel-goers so patent to the children outside the school, surely it is but a slight additional evil to have it showing itself in one or two cases inside the school.

Anyhow, putting this evil into one scale, and a rupture of the educational concordat between Church and State, and the establishment perhaps of a secular system of schools all over the country, (as in Belgium,) into the other, there can be little doubt as to which scale preponderates.—I have the honour to be, my dear Lord Archbishop, yours faithfully,

J. P. NORRIS.

The Most Reverend the Archbishop of York.

November 15, 1866.

MY LORD,—From an imperfect report of your Lordship's reply to the Conscience Clause Deputation last Tuesday, I gather that you would be glad to receive any suggestion for the solution of the difficulty in which the State is placed in aiding to establish schools in what may be termed "Single-school parishes," containing Dissenters.

The only solution thus far proposed is *the* Conscience Clause as drawn up by the Education Department.

To *this* a very large majority of the clergy object. But this large majority is made up of two portions—a small portion, who would equally object to any compromise whatever, (these, the *non possumus* party, being few in number and ἀσπονδοί, may be neglected),—and a large portion, well worth conciliating, who would accept a modified conscience clause.

What, then, is it in the present Conscience Clause which so many of the more reasonable clergy object to?

It is that in accepting it they would be binding themselves potentially to more than they could practically perform. The exemption is too sweeping; so much so that it might be impracticable to comply with it. That from which they might be required under this clause (worded as it is) to exempt a child, penetrates and pervades the whole work of a Church school, or might be alleged to do so. A parent might choose to find dogmatic teaching in the daily prayers, in the mode of enforcing discipline, in the whole school life; and might (if so minded) make a vexatious use of the powers thus allowed him.

Let the clause be more definitely worded, and this difficulty would vanish.

All schools are worked according to a fixed routine or *time-table*, every hour or half-hour having its definite lesson; and this time-table is accessible to the parents.

Let the clause be worded thus:—

“The said committee shall be bound . . . but such orders shall be confined to the exemption of such children from attendance at church, *and from such lessons as their parents, on conscientious grounds and in writing, object to*; and shall not otherwise interfere with the religious instruction given in the school.”

Such a modification would redeem the clause from the only reasonable objection to it, viz., that it might, in extreme cases, be made a source of constant annoyance to a conscientious teacher. . . .

The insertion of such a clause in the trust-deeds of Church schools seems to me a price well worth paying for the continuance of that prerogative in the case of single-school parishes, which it is so

much the interest of the nation to accord to the Established Church.
—I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.

J. P. NORRIS.

The Earl of Derby, K.G.

To the Editor of the Times.

December 12, 1867.

SIR,—In your leading article to-day you say that if any verbal amendment of the Conscience Clause could be suggested that would tend to make its non-interference with the religious lessons of a school yet more clear, it might be well to adopt it.

Since my retirement from the office of Inspector of Schools, nearly four years ago, I have had opportunities of discussing these matters with my brother clergy more freely than I could as an inspector.

As regards this particular question of the Conscience Clause, the clergy may be divided into three groups. There is a small group whom no sort of compromise would conciliate, hopelessly prejudiced in the matter. These, as you say, may be safely neglected. There is another group, (smaller, I believe, than you suppose,) who are prepared to accept the Conscience Clause as it stands. There is a third, and very large group, containing, as I believe, numbers of wise and moderate men whom a very slight modification of the clause, such as I am about to suggest, would at once conciliate.

The ground on which these men object to the clause as it stands has never, I think, been rightly apprehended.

The clause, as it stands, exempts A. B. from any religious instruction to which his parent objects. That is, a clergyman adopting it, binds himself not only to allow A. B. to sit aside during particular lessons, but guarantees him from having any such instruction given to him directly or indirectly. He feels that in making this promise, he is promising more than he can possibly perform. In the prayers with which the school is opened, in some accidental address to the whole school about a breach of discipline, in the common reading lesson, a troublesome, controversial parent may discover that some doctrine to which he objects has been indirectly conveyed to his boy, who clearly cannot sit aside on all these occasions.

Let the clause, therefore, exempt the child, not "from any religious doctrine to which the parent objects," but simply, "from any lesson to which a parent on conscientious grounds objects." ✓

This would be simpler, and in case of complaint, would raise a practicable issue in a court of law. The issues that might be vexatiously raised on the clause as it now stands—whether, for instance, a schoolmaster had, in using prayers out of our liturgy, offended the conscience of a Unitarian parent, or in a lesson on Charles II.'s reign had implied opinions to which a non-conforming parent objected—would be simply impracticable.

The slight alteration I have suggested would satisfy all sensible parents, and would make the clause acceptable to all sensible clergymen, as I believe.—I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

J. P. NORRIS.

To the Editor of the Times.

Dec. 14, 1867.

SIR,—When I wrote the letter which you were so good as to publish this morning, I had no copy of the Conscience Clause by me. I now have it before me, and can therefore explain the verbal amendment, which seems to me desirable, still more explicitly.

The clause, as now worded, stands thus :—"The managers shall be bound to make such orders as shall provide for admitting to the benefits of the school the children of parents not in communion with the Church. But such orders shall be confined to the exemption of such children, if their parents desire it, from attendance at public worship, and *from instruction in the doctrine or formularies of the said Church*, and shall not otherwise interfere with the religious teaching of the scholars."

The words which I have put in italics are the words I would alter, substituting, "*from any lesson to which the parents on conscientious grounds object.*"

The effect of the alteration will be evident to any one familiar with the subject.

Numbers of moderate and sensible clergymen have said to me, "As the clause now stands, it asks me, (or might in a court of law be interpreted to ask me,) to promise, not only that the Dissenter's

child shall have liberty to withdraw from certain lessons, but also that, whether he choose to withdraw or no, he shall never hear one word of distinctive doctrine in my school. That is more than I can or will promise. What I am perfectly willing to promise is this, that I will exhibit the *time-table* of the school to any parent who desires it, and allow his child to be withdrawn from any lesson therein specified to which he on conscientious grounds objects."

The Conscience Clause, altered as I have suggested, would at once satisfy such a clergyman, and would surely be sufficient to meet the scruples of any conscientious Dissenter.

As for the very few clergy who would think it right still to proselytise indirectly under a conscience clause so worded, no trust-deed, however stringently framed, could protect parents from such *mala fides*.

It hardly needed Mr Lake's justly indignant letter to assure the public how few they are.—I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

J. P. NORRIS.

APPENDIX II.

THE following paper, sketching the history of our English *Half-time* system for children employed in manufactories, was written at the request of the "Association Internationale pour le Progrès des Sciences Sociales;" and was read at their Amsterdam Congress in 1864; and is reprinted from the transactions of the Association.

Mémoire de M. J. P. NORRIS, ancien inspecteur des écoles de Sa Majesté, à Londres.

Nous appelons, en Angleterre, *The half-time system*, le partage du temps des enfants ouvriers entre le travail de l'école et le travail de l'atelier; ainsi les enfants passent alternativement de l'atelier à l'école, et de l'école à l'atelier.

L'origine de cette mesure se trouve dans un bill présenté au Parlement par le premier Sir Robert Peel, et passé en loi en 1802, qui limita les tâches de tous les apprentis des deux sexes, employés

dans les manufactures de coton et de laine, à douze heures par jour, et décréta qu'ils recevraient l'instruction élémentaire, pendant quelque partie de chaque jour ouvrable, et l'enseignement religieux, le dimanche. A cet acte, en succéda un autre, en 1819, qui interdisait aux propriétaires desdites manufactures d'employer aucun enfant âgé de moins de neuf ans.

On croit ordinairement que les maux sociaux qu'on a voulu restreindre par ces lois résultent des développements qu'a pris l'industrie par suite de l'invention de la machine à vapeur, à la fin du xviii^e siècle. Mais ces abus sont de plus ancienne date. Je puis appuyer cette assertion sur l'autorité de notre historien Lord Macaulay. Dans le premier tome de son histoire, (p. 419,) il dit : "L'usage d'employer les enfants prématurément dans les manufactures, usage que l'État, protecteur légitime de ceux qui ne peuvent pas se protéger eux-mêmes, interdit aujourd'hui, avec une bienfaisance salubre, était répandu, au xvii^e siècle, à un degré incroyable. A Norwich, le centre de la fabrication des tissus, on mettait ordinairement au travail un gamin de six ans. Plusieurs écrivains contemporains, dont quelques uns ont une grande réputation d'humanité, se glorifient du fait que, dans cette seule ville, le travail des petits enfants créait un revenu net de trois cent mille francs par an ! Plus on approfondit l'histoire du passé, ajoute Macaulay, plus on s'éloigne de l'opinion de ceux qui attribuent à notre époque tant de nouveaux maux sociaux. Le fait est que ces malheurs sont, presque sans exception, d'une date ancienne. Ce qui est nouveau, c'est l'intelligence qui les discerne et l'humanité qui y remédie."

Les lois de 1802 et de 1819, faute d'une surveillance suffisante pour en assurer l'exécution, furent inefficaces. Toutefois, ce grand principe fut affirmé, comme dit Lord Macaulay, que "l'État est le protecteur légitime de ceux qui ne peuvent pas se protéger eux-mêmes." Du reste, il est remarquable, en passant, que l'honneur de cette restriction morale du commerce, revient au père du ministre illustre à qui appartient l'honneur de son affranchissement fiscal. Il n'y a, d'ailleurs, aucune contradiction entre l'esprit du libre-échange et l'esprit de cette législation tutélaire.

Cependant, le mal grandissait. Les commissions de 1833 et de 1844, chargées de faire une enquête sur la condition des ouvriers manufacturiers, révélèrent des abus qui réclamaient, d'une manière

pressante, une législation plus rigoureuse. Les actes de 1833, de 1844 et de 1847, dont l'ensemble forme aujourd'hui le code du travail manufacturier, furent successivement votés. Leur exécution est assurée par un système d'inspection bien organisé, ce qui manquait aux lois antérieures.

Je vais esquisser à grands traits ce qui, dans ce code, a rapport au système du demi-temps. Par le mot manufacture, il faut entendre surtout un édifice dans lequel il se trouve des machines à vapeur, ou à eau, ou à autre moteur mécanique quel qu'il soit, pour la filature ou le tissage du coton, de la laine, de la soie, du poil, du lin, du chanvre et de l'étoile. Aucun enfant, âgé de moins de huit ans, ne peut être admis dans ces ateliers ; et au-dessous de treize ans, ne peut être employé plus de six heures et demie, s'il travaille tous les jours, ni plus de dix heures, s'il travaille de deux jours l'un. Un enfant, travaillant tous les jours, doit être à l'école pendant trois heures par jour ; celui qui ne travaille que de deux jours l'un, doit y passer cinq heures. Sous peine d'amende, l'entrepreneur d'industrie ne peut recevoir un enfant sans un certificat d'école. Pour suppléer à l'absence momentanée de ses ouvriers enfants, l'industriel organise un double service ; il a deux groupes d'enfants ; pendant que l'un travaille à la manufacture, l'autre est à l'école.

Tel est le système du demi-temps, selon les conditions réglées par la loi des manufactures, dans la Grande-Bretagne. Ce système a été appliqué, par l'acte de 1860, aux blanchisseries et aux teintureries ; et tout récemment, en 1863, aux fabriques de dentelles ; et en 1864, aux usines de poterie, de papier-peint, d'allumettes chimiques, de cartouches et de capsules à percussion, toujours sous la surveillance régulière de l'autorité. Il est à croire que les autres manufactures seront peu à peu rangées sous la même règle.

En général, on peut dire que ces actes ont eu un succès bien remarquable. La seule objection sérieuse, c'est qu'ils n'offrent pas assez de garantie de la qualité des écoles que fréquentent les enfants. Lorsqu'il se trouve une bonne école dans le voisinage de l'atelier, les fruits du système alternatif sont tout ce qu'on peut désirer : le travail se présente comme un délassement après l'instruction, et l'instruction de même après le travail ; de sorte que celui qui ne passe que la moitié du temps à l'école, fait à peu près les mêmes progrès que celui qui y passe toute la journée. Ce résultat est telle-

ment constaté dans les rapports des inspecteurs, qu'il y en a qui voudraient abrégé universellement les heures d'enseignement à l'école, même quand il n'est pas indispensable de les alterner avec le travail ; ils allèguent que les jeunes gens apprennent autant, et même plus en trois heures, qu'ils ne font en cinq ou six heures par jour. Pour moi, je suis convaincu qu'il y a de l'exagération dans une telle proposition, et que les progrès de ces enfants sont dus, non pas à la diminution du temps consacré à l'enseignement, mais plutôt à la régularité parfaite avec laquelle ils fréquentent l'école. En faisant l'inspection de ces écoles, j'ai bien souvent demandé à l'instituteur, comment il se rendait compte de ce paradoxe, que les écoliers à demi-temps étaient presque au même niveau que ceux qui jouissaient de tout l'enseignement. On m'a répondu, qu'on l'attribuait sans doute en partie à l'ardeur qu'inspirait aux enfants la transition du travail à l'instruction, mais encore davantage à leur assiduité aux leçons.

C'est un des avantages du système du demi-temps que la fréquentation de l'école est assurée ; et voilà un point bien digne de notre attention. Certes, rien ne retarde plus sérieusement l'avancement des élèves, dans nos écoles élémentaires, que leur inexactitude. Aux meilleures écoles, les enfants ne passent que quatre jours sur cinq ; à la plupart, la fréquentation moyenne ne donne que trois jours sur cinq. Il va sans dire qu'une telle inexactitude rend presque impossible un cours d'enseignement régulier. Une moindre durée d'instruction, régulièrement assurée, vaudrait bien mieux ; c'est précisément l'effet de la loi du demi-temps. Le parent n'ose pas retenir son enfant chez lui, sachant bien que, à défaut du certificat de présence à l'école, il perdra le salaire de la semaine.

L'importance de cette clause salubre du code manufacturier est évidente. Les actes antérieurs, faute d'une pareille précaution, n'ont porté aucun fruit.

La loi de 1846, par exemple, sur le travail des enfants employés dans les ateliers d'impression de toile peinte, exige que trente jours de chaque semestre soient passés à l'école. De même, la loi de 1860, intitulée, *Mines Regulation Act*, demande quatre jour d'école, par mois, aux enfants qui travaillent dans les mines. Mais, malheureusement, ces deux lois laissent aux parents le soin de dis-

tribuer ce minimum de fréquentation à leur gré, d'où il arrive que l'instituteur ne peut pas y accommoder ses leçons, et que la présence incertaine des jeunes ouvriers ne fait que déranger l'ordre des classes. L'inutilité notoire de ces deux actes, en fait d'éducation, prouve incontestablement qu'une fréquentation d'école irrégulière ne vaut presque rien, et démontre la supériorité du système du demi-temps. Car, il faut bien le remarquer, ce régime, en laissant aux entrepreneurs le choix d'alterner le travail avec l'instruction ou par demi-journée, ou par journée, exige absolument qu'on y tienne avec une régularité parfaite. Dans l'un et l'autre cas, l'ouvrage se continue par le système des relais ; par exemple, les uns travaillent le matin, les autres l'après-midi ; le tour change par semaine ou par quinzaine.

Un autre avantage accessoire qui se rattache au système, c'est que le paiement des frais d'école se fait de rigueur, par prélèvement sur les salaires des enfants. Ces retenues ne peuvent pas excéder deux pence par semaine.

En somme, on peut dire généralement que si, d'un côté, les enfants ne consacrent que la moitié du temps à l'instruction ; de l'autre, se présentent les compensations suivantes :

1. La durée de l'instruction se prolonge au delà du terme ordinaire, c'est à dire jusqu'à l'âge de treize ans ;
2. Les enfants se rendent à l'école régulièrement ;
3. Leur application, pendant les heures de classe abrégées, est plus vive et plus fraîche qu'on ne la trouve ailleurs ;
4. Les frais d'école sont payés rigoureusement.

Pour bien apprécier l'utilité, en fait d'éducation, de notre code du travail manufacturier, il faut cependant avouer qu'il manque à notre loi, pour qu'elle puisse servir de modèle, une garantie suffisante de la bonne organisation des écoles fréquentées par les enfants, et, en outre, que le système des relais exige qu'on emploie deux fois autant d'enfants que n'en réclamerait le service régulier des manufactures ; d'où il arrive quelquefois que le chef d'atelier préfère ne pas se servir du tout des enfants âgés de moins de treize ans.

En parlant du code du travail manufacturier, j'ai borné mes observations à ce qui touche au système du demi-temps. Il n'y avait pas à insister ici sur la partie des prescriptions qui ont pour

objet de sauvegarder la santé des ouvriers plus âgés, en limitant la durée du travail à dix heures par jour pour les femmes et pour tous les ouvriers au-dessous de dix-huit ans ; ces dix heures doivent être comprises entre six heures du matin et six heures du soir. On ne saurait nier que, sans cette limitation du travail pour les adultes, le régime du demi-temps pour les enfants serait tout à fait incomplet. Ce régime donne, il est vrai, les premiers rudiments de l'instruction ; mais ce sont les moments de loisir revendiqués par la loi pour les adultes, qui leur permettent d'en développer les bons fruits.

Voilà donc le système du demi-temps, qui, joint au principe du temps limité pour les adultes, a produit tant de bien depuis trente années.

Quant aux intérêts matériels du pays, loin d'avoir remarqué un ralentissement dans les progrès des branches d'industrie soumises à ces restrictions, nous les avons vues, au contraire, s'accroître avec une rapidité plus que quadruple des progrès obtenus par l'ensemble des autres industries. En 1860, le coton fabriqué montait à un demi-billion de kilogrammes, et le nombre des ouvriers employés dans cette seule fabrication était estimé à quatre cent mille, dont le salaire s'évaluait à 287,500,000 francs.

En face de ces faits, personne ne peut dire que cette législation ait compromis le commerce. Mais, (qu'on s'en souvienne bien,) il ne s'agit pas seulement de faire de l'ouvrier un instrument de richesse : il s'agit de faire de l'homme un citoyen. Au point de vue physique et moral, les résultats de ces mesures restrictives éclatent à tous les yeux ; au lieu de cet affaiblissement de la santé, des maladies précoces et souvent incurables, des épines dorsales déviées, des hommes rabougris et sans vigueur, la population entière de ces districts manufacturiers s'est rajeunie, pour ainsi dire. Voilà pour le physique. Et pour ce qui est de l'intelligence et du cœur, il est à peine croyable combien on a constaté d'amélioration.

En veut-on la preuve ? Qu'on jette les yeux sur l'histoire des trois dernières années. Pourquoi retracer cette crise fatale, le blocus américain, l'enchérissement rapide, la disparition du coton, une industrie sans pareille, frappée et presque anéantie ? Et ces quatre cent mille ouvriers, comment se sont-ils comportés ? A-t-on

vu une seule émeute ? Que dis-je ? A-t-on ouï s'échapper un seul murmure ? Quand on écrira l'histoire de cette époque, on n'aura à faire que le long récit de privations héroïquement supportées, et d'une charité inépuisable et sublime. J'ai visité moi-même les villes du Lancashire dans la crise de la " famine ; " j'ai demandé aux ouvriers, aux chefs d'établissements, aux magistrats, au clergé, à quoi on pouvait attribuer cette patience extraordinaire. Ils répondaient tous : " C'est à l'éducation qu'on le doit : tout le monde sait lire ; chaque famille s'abonne à son journal, qui ne coûte que deux sous et fait comprendre les vraies causes de la disette ; de là vient cette résignation intelligente du peuple." Voilà un témoignage frappant du succès de notre législation industrielle.

Tel est, dans ses traits généraux, l'aspect, et tels sont les effets du système du demi-temps, appliqué législativement aux manufactures.

La mention que je viens de faire de ces résultats physiques et moraux m'amène naturellement à la dernière question que je me propose de traiter. Pourquoi ne pas étendre des prescriptions si salutaires à toutes les industries qui emploient les enfants, y compris l'agriculture ?

Pour les petits ateliers disséminés où l'activité manuelle est seule en jeu, c'est-à-dire ceux qui n'ont pas pour auxiliaire la force de l'eau ou de la vapeur, pour le travail de la terre, pour le service domestique, l'État ne met aucune restriction, n'impose aucune barrière à l'exploitation abusive des forces de l'enfance.

Pourquoi ne pas introduire partout le même système ?

En 1860, M. Adderley présenta à la Chambre des Communes un projet de loi destiné à étendre universellement les bienfaits du *Half-time system*. Le Parlement anglais le rejeta. D'où vient cette inconséquence ? Je tâcherai d'en expliquer les raisons.

D'un côté, il fut admis que le gouvernement, comme tuteur spécial de tout ce qui est faible et mineur dans l'État, pouvait, à la rigueur, interdire universellement l'emploi prématuré des forces de l'enfance. Il fut admis que cette restriction, à l'égard des manufactures, avait eu un grand succès. Il fut admis que, bien que le Parlement eût ainsi limité le cercle des industries soumises à la loi, il réservait toujours au gouvernement le droit d'appliquer ces restrictions à toute autre industrie dans laquelle on reconnaîtrait un

besoin de protection pour l'enfance. Mais, d'un autre côté, on alléguait que jamais, en Angleterre, on n'avait prétendu rendre l'enseignement obligatoire ; c'était une question très-grave que de porter atteinte à l'autorité paternelle ; la législation devait, sans doute, s'opposer à l'abus que des parents avides peuvent faire de leur autorité, au préjudice de leurs enfants ; mais *ce devait être seulement pour le cas où le mal était certain et le remède assuré*. Dans les manufactures (où, le moteur n'ayant pas de repos obligé pour réparer sa force, il y a tendance à porter le travail au delà des bornes du labeur de l'homme,) le mal d'un travail illimité était certain, et le remède, au moyen de l'inspection, était assuré. Mais, dans les petits ateliers disséminés et surtout dans l'exploitation des fermes étendues, ni l'une ni l'autre condition ne se trouvaient remplies. On pourrait *facilement faire inspecter une grande manufacture* où rassemblent des centaines d'enfants ; mais *une visite domiciliaire à la campagne*, c'était une affaire aussi délicate que difficile. On se trouvait en présence des privilèges de la famille. Quelles dispositions prendre qui ne fussent pas inquisitoriales ? Quelles peines infliger qui ne fussent pas illusoire ?

Tel fut le raisonnement qui décida le Parlement anglais à rejeter le bill pour l'extension du régime du demi-temps à toutes les industries. On pourrait en formuler le principe, en disant que l'esprit de notre législation est répressif, mais non pas coactif ; que la loi, chez nous, défend de faire le mal, mais n'exige pas qu'on fasse le bien. "Ce qui frappe le plus, a dit un étranger, dans les institutions anglaises, c'est le libre mouvement qui les enfante et qui serait étouffé le jour où le gouvernement y mettrait la main." Nous avons voulu sauvegarder, autant que possible, ce principe du laisser-faire. L'État a voulu se borner à rechercher si, parmi les industries qui abusaient de leurs franchises, il n'en existait pas qu'on pût faire entrer dans les cadres de la loi en vigueur. C'est un grand témoignage en faveur de la politique du laisser-faire, que nous avons des propriétaires (je puis nommer notamment Lord Egerton of Tatton, le feu Lord Hatherton, et M. Paget, membre du Parlement) qui ont appliqué volontairement le système du demi-temps aux jeunes ouvriers agricoles sur leurs terres. De plus en plus, on voit nos grands propriétaires, ainsi que nos grands fabricants, se faire un cas de conscience de procurer le bien-être à

ceux qu'ils emploient, de veiller sur leurs âmes autant que sur leurs corps. *Prices' Patent Candle Company, The London Lead Company*, ainsi que la *Société industrielle* de Mulhouse, ont depuis longtemps adopté volontairement de pareilles restrictions en faveur de leurs jeunes ouvriers.

Voici donc les conclusions générales que nous dicte notre expérience :

1. Afin que le travail professionnel n'empiète pas sur le domaine de l'éducation, il faut des concessions mutuelles comme celles que j'ai décrites ;

2. Pour les grandes industries, qui se servent d'un moteur inanimé, et dans lesquelles un système d'inspection est praticable, cette concession doit être assurée par la loi ;

3. Pour l'agriculture et pour les petites industries domestiques, qui échapperont toujours aux prescriptions d'une loi restrictive, une telle législation resterait lettre morte ; *

4. Dans ce dernier cas, il est à espérer que ce que la loi ne peut pas faire, se fera, de plus en plus, volontairement sous l'influence de l'opinion.

D'après une expérience de quinze ans, comme inspecteur d'écoles du gouvernement anglais, je suis convaincu que, si l'on veut réellement faire de notre éducation une œuvre durable, on doit adopter de plus en plus, soit législativement, soit volontairement, le système du demi-temps. Sans une telle garantie, les leçons de l'école laisseront à peine quelques traces. Par des méthodes plus rapides, on pourrait, je l'admets, apprendre aux enfants à lire et à écrire ; mais, pour ce qui constitue la vraie éducation, pour que nos enfants se pénétrant des croyances morales et des idées traditionnelles de la civilisation, il faut leur assurer une fréquentation de l'école plus assidue et plus prolongée ; c'est seulement ainsi que nous pourrions poser le couronnement de l'édifice de l'instruction primaire, élevé au prix de tant d'efforts.

* I am here speaking of a *Half-time law*. A certificate of some amount of schooling might well be required by law as a condition of farm-service. See chapters i. and ii.

APPENDIX III.

To bring the foregoing sketch of our legislation affecting children employed in manufactures down to the present date, 1868, I append a memorandum by Alexander Redgrave, Esq., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Factories, explaining the progress of legislation for the protection of the labour of women, young persons, and children ; and for the education of children.

The first Factory Act (42 Geo. III. c. 73, 1802) was an attempt to remedy the evils of excessive labour in cotton and woollen factories only ; and for years afterwards the manufacture of textile fabrics only was placed under legislative restrictions. Thus the Factory Acts of 1833 and 1844, with their amending Acts, dealt only with labour in the actual spinning and manufacture of textile fabrics, as they existed at the time,—viz., of cotton, wool, worsted, hemp, flax, tow, silk, or jute. The next series of Acts had still reference only to textile fabrics,—viz., printworks, and the bleaching, dyeing, and finishing of textile goods. Various modifications of the Factory Regulations were conceded to these works, on the ground of their inapplicability to the peculiarities and necessities of the trades. An inquiry is now being made into the validity of the grounds upon which these modifications were permitted, with a view to remedy many defects which have been greatly complained of. Another Act, the first-fruits of the Children's Employment Commission, was passed in 1864. This extended the Factory Regulations to a variety of trades,—viz., to the manufacture of earthenware, of lucifer matches, of percussion-caps and cartridges, to the employments of paper-staining and of fustian-cutting. In all these trades the greatest satisfaction has been expressed by the masters at the results of the application to their premises of Factory Regulations. They co-operate with the inspectors, and have experienced none of the inconveniences and difficulties which they had anticipated, while the operatives are no less satisfied at the beneficial operation of the new system.

Following very closely the outline of the Act of 1864, the Legislature endeavoured in the session of 1867 to cope with every kind

of labour, exercised in the way of trade, for the production of an article for sale.

First, the "Factory Acts Extension Act, 1867," which places under the regulations of the Factory Acts the following premises, viz.:—

Blast furnaces, copper mills, iron mills and forges, foundries ; premises whereon steam or water power is used to manufacture machinery, or any article of metal, or of India-rubber or gutta-percha ; premises in which are carried on paper, glass, or tobacco manufactures ; letterpress printing or bookbinding. In addition to the preceding, any other premises on which at least fifty persons are employed on any manual labour, for any process in the preparing or finishing of any article for sale.

The Government, in the first instance, and afterwards the Committee of the House of Commons, considered with great attention the representations made from the different trades proposed to be brought under restrictions, of the inconveniences and injuries which would be caused to many trades by a strict and close adherence to the Factory Regulations as in force in cotton and other factories, and various *temporary* modifications were granted for the purpose of making the transition from unlimited to limited labour more gradual. Other *permanent* modifications were also agreed to, in order to provide against very serious interruptions to processes of manufacture, and disturbance of existing customs and habits, which were threatened by the strict Factory Law.

But the following regulations are absolute :—

1. The prohibition of the night-work of women and children.
2. The limitation of the night-work of young persons in some specified trades, such as blast-furnaces, paper-mills, &c., to not more than six nights in a fortnight, and the prohibition of day-work during the night turn.
3. The limitation of the hours of work of children to half the day, *with the obligation of daily school attendance.*
4. The limitation of the hours of work of young persons and women to 10.30 hours per day, and 60 hours per week.
5. The other ordinary rules as to meals and holidays, dangerous machinery and accidents.
6. The original Factory Acts made no provision for securing

proper ventilation and cleanliness, but by the two last Acts, 1864 and 1867, these two important conditions must be observed; and by the last Act, 1867, the further obligation is enacted, that means shall be provided for preventing the inhalation by workmen of dust, gas, or other impurities caused by any process of manufacture.

Workshops Act.—The preceding Acts embrace all the large and important classes of factories. Their administration has been placed under the supervision of the Inspectors of Factories, and the machinery of the Factory Acts applies to them all. The details as to surgical certificates as proof of age—the registration of names, &c., *in factories of the smallest class* would be irksome and to a great extent unnecessary. The Legislature therefore proceeded to lay down rules to be observed in all these minor classes of labour, which are not included in any of the above Factory Acts, without the minute details to which the larger works are subjected, and passed the “Workshops Regulation Act, 1867.”

This Act applies to all manual labour exercised by way of trade in preparing or finishing any article for sale.

The main features of the “Factory Acts Extension Act, 1867,” are adopted, except that the labour of young persons and women may be extended to twelve hours per day, between wider limits than under the Factory Acts,—*i.e.*, they may commence at five a.m. and need not cease until nine p.m.; and on Saturdays work may be continued after the regular hours in shops wherein more than five persons are employed in *repairing* articles; the school attendance of children need not exceed ten hours per week instead of fifteen, as under the Factory Acts. Temporary and permanent modifications very similar to those in the “Factory Acts Extension Act of 1867” are also included in the Workshops Act.

The administration of the Workshops Act is not placed in the hands of the Inspectors of Factories, but is enjoined upon the Local Authority, whether mayor, provost, board of health, vestry, or whatever may be the governing body of the locality. It is of great importance that these various bodies should accept the “duty” imposed upon them by the Act, for in their hands now rests the power of creating a school-seeking race of children. *Every* child who performs any manual labour (except in agriculture) is bound now to attend school concurrently with its daily occupation, but

the system cannot be inaugurated unless by the influence and pressure of some governing body. The Inspectors of Factories are empowered to enter workshops and consequently to enforce the provisions of the Act, but the intention of the Act seems rather that they should ascertain whether the regulations of the Act have been administered by the Local Authorities. There is one provision of the Workshops Act which may be of great importance. It is that relating to the disqualifying of schoolmasters. Under the Factory Acts, an inspector is empowered to disqualify a schoolmaster "by reason of his incapacity to teach the children to read and write, from his gross ignorance, or from his not having the materials necessary to teach reading and writing, or because of his immoral conduct," &c. The cause for disqualification is here clearly enough defined, but it reaches only the very worst class of cases, about which there could be no kind of doubt in the mind of the inspector. The Workshops Regulation Act enlarges very much the grounds of disqualification, and it should be observed that no authority is given in respect to schools, and school certificates, to the Local Authority, these subjects being placed entirely under the control of the Inspectors of Factories. After repeating as grounds for disqualification the not filling up of certificates and immoral conduct, the schoolmaster may be disqualified, if in the opinion of the Inspectors "he is unfit to teach children by reason either of his ignorance or neglect, or of his not having the necessary books and materials." Under these terms there would be ample ground to disqualify many schoolmasters, who cannot be interfered with under the Factory Acts, but whose continuance as schoolmasters is disastrous. This power of disqualification, however, must be exercised with great caution and discretion, and should be used in most cases as a hidden source of influence, rather than as a direct act of authority.

The above Acts form a code of legislation unexampled in any country in the world. The young and the weaker sex are absolutely secured from excessive labour: children must and do attend school*—all are protected from injuries, and the unhealthiness of processes is lessened.

* I fear Mr Redgrave's sanguine expectations are far from being realised in the case of the Workshops Act. There is "many a slip 'twixt cup and lip" in this sort of legislation.

APPENDIX IV.

REPORT on APPARATUS and METHODS used in the INSTRUCTION of CHILDREN.—(Class 89 of the Paris Exhibition 1867.)

PARIS, *May* 1867.

THE educational department of the Exhibition is divided into two portions—Class 89 contains all that concerns the instruction of children ; Class 90, what concerns that of older persons. The report which follows relates exclusively to Class 89.

France, Prussia, Saxony, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Spain, and Italy are the nations of the Continent which have contributed most largely to this portion of the Exhibition.

Taking these nations in the above order, I shall briefly notice such of their contributions as have seemed to me most deserving of our attention.

I. FRANCE.

Beyond all doubt the most striking and the most instructive sample of French primary instruction is to be found in the large building in the park (near the Grande Porte) dedicated to the iron-works of Creusot. Here Messrs Schneider and Company exhibit a most complete account of their magnificent schools. The statistics, methods, rules, time-tables, and works done by the scholars are ranged along the west wall. The schools are maintained chiefly, but not exclusively, for their work-people's children. These pay 7d. per month ; strangers, 14d. There are 2,219 boys, and 1,846 girls in attendance. The boys are taught by twelve masters, the chaplain attending to give religious instruction ; the girls by the Sisters of St Joseph de Cluny.

Each of the two principal schools numbers about 900, and is divided into nine classes. The mean age of the highest class of boys is fourteen ; of girls, thirteen. The mean age of the lowest class of boys is eight ; of girls and infants, four. The course of instruction is fourfold :—

1. *French*, occupying ten or twelve hours in the week. Under this head come reading and committing to memory ; and for the older children grammar and composition.

2. *History and Geography*, occupying about three hours per week of the girls' time, and from eight to four hours of the boys', the younger boys giving more time to it than the elder. A course of Bible history is included in this department.

3. *Science*, occupying five hours of the girls' week, and from six to ten of the boys'; in the girls' school "Science" means arithmetic and bookkeeping ; in the boys' school it means arithmetic and geometry throughout, and for the elder boys it includes one hour of natural philosophy and mechanics, one of chemistry, and two of algebra.

4. *Arts*, occupying twelve hours per week in each school. For the girls an hour every day of needlework and another of writing, with two hours of music ; for the boys, writing, drawing, and music. On Thursdays and Sundays the children have holidays, with home tasks, which are corrected the next morning.

Good marks are given for lessons, and deducted for misconduct. These are carefully registered in the teacher's journal, together with his private observations. In August every year the marks of the year are counted up and added to the results of a general examination ; the result determines the prizes. To these the boys look forward with much interest ; but a far greater incentive to industry and good conduct is the admirable system of *patronage*. To the most deserving boys who leave the school an honourable career is opened in the company's employment as clerks or as engineers, to the next most deserving employment as workmen, while the undeserving have to seek their living elsewhere. This patronage is exercised rigorously according to merit: the poorest boy in the school knows that he may rise to situations of the highest responsibility in the company's service. To this the company ascribe the very remarkable success which has attended the schools. Punishments are seldom needed. Where loss of marks fails to suffice, a letter is written to the parent, and the child's attendance at the school is suspended for a while. In 29 years not more than three cases occurred in which final expulsion was found necessary.

In 1863 a night-school for adult workmen was instituted, with an

attendance of 100 ; last year the attendance had risen to 260, and they had asked to have special lessons in machine-drawing. The result of the children's work, drawings, needlework, and copy-books seemed to me admirable.

From the Creusot school I pass into the main building. There, near the Rue des Pays Bas, is to be found the rest of the French educational exhibition. On the wall will be seen very complete plans of school buildings by M. Uchard, an architect, (under No. 8 of the catalogue.) The question of ventilation is yet unsolved in France as in England. Ventilators in the roof are condemned, and ventilating flues running alongside of the smoke-flues preferred. But the success of this system depends on the length of the flue ; and here the French schools, two or three stories in height, have a great advantage over our single-story schools. Where the rooms are one over the other, several stoves combine in winter to increase the upcast draught, and the air-flue sucks the vitiated air through the floor-grates very powerfully ; while the warm air-chamber of the stove is continually sending a fresh supply into the room. In summer, when the stoves are not lit, valves into the air-flues may be opened in the walls near the ceiling. A specimen of one of these ventilating stoves may be seen under No. 105. But an open grate (such as those made by Hyde, of Winchester, with hot-air chambers behind them) would fulfil the requirements of this system of ventilation quite as well.

Passing to what concerns instruction, Taupier's method of teaching writing (No. 51) well deserves attention. His copy-books are published by the great school publisher, Hachette (Boulevard St Germain, 77.) As in the best copy-books of all nations, the child traces a few lines over pale letters before he trusts himself to write unaided, pale lines guide the slope of the letters, and their spaces also throughout the earlier books. The more advanced copy-books embrace invoices, addresses of letters, elements of grammar, &c.

In arithmetic, admirable facilities for teaching decimal weights and measures, the relation of the whole to its metric base being made obvious at once to the child's eye, may be seen in M. Demkes' staircase, (No. 76,) and in M. Carpentier's cabinet, (No. 79.) This last is most complete, having a pair of scales in which the several

equivalents can be made manifest to the child's eye, each being also brought into relation with the base-metre.

In geography, Gervais' atlas of outline maps, to be filled up and coloured by the pupil, (No. 22,) should be especially noticed. The maps are most beautifully engraved, with the mountains in admirable relief, and cost only a penny a-piece. (M. Gervais, Rue du Rendez-vous, 53, Paris.)

Among the results of scholars' work but little needlework appears.* The results of the boys' work are very satisfactory. The portfolio of drawings, especially the machine drawings, from M. Barbier's school in the Rue Neuve-Coquenard, Paris, (No. 198,) as well as some excellent drawings and maps from the Algerian schools of Oran, well repay attention. But if an Englishman wishes to see the magnificent effort which France has made in the last three years to connect together the school and the workshop, he should pass on to Class 90, and there examine the results of the "enseignement secondaire spécial," to which the law of June 1, 1865, is giving such a completely efficient organisation. The professional and technical schools take up the children at the point where the primary school leaves them. Here the girls learn book-keeping,† wood engraving, porcelain painting, millinery; the boys machine-drawing, physics, and generally the principles applicable to whatever trade they are about to engage in. It is clear that the necessity of this kind of education for artisans is better appreciated in France than in England. These schools do not, it is true, belong to Class 89; but this higher course of instruction is beginning to react downwards, on the primary schools, requiring of them a more scientific teaching of the A B C of design. Some results of this may be seen from M. Delahaye's primary school in the Boulevard des Batignolles, 24, (No. 201.)

The rapid extension of *evening-schools* all over France in the last two years has been most remarkable. In April 1866, M. Duruy was able to report 22,980 evening-schools, for men, and 1706

* Last month a law was passed requiring all communes of more than 500 inhabitants to have a separate *girls' school* under a mistress, and all smaller communes to provide a sempstress for their mixed schools.

† The book-keeping of the French tradesmen is almost entirely intrusted to women.

for men, attended by 552,939 men and 42,567 women. These are mainly supported by voluntary effort—three-fifths of the schools being gratuitous. The law of last month offers a premium to any teacher of a day-school thus volunteering to open an evening-school.

II. PRUSSIA.

In a white house in the park a room has been furnished by the Prussian Government with all that a school needs. It might, perhaps, have been better done in some respects ; but the admirable wall maps of Kiepert, published by Reimer of Berlin, cannot fail to arrest attention. There is an excellent school atlas by Diel of Darmstadt, price 1s. 2d. ; and another by Haester, still cheaper. The reading-books, carefully prepared in a graduated series by the teachers of the Münsterberg normal school, are marvellously cheap. So also are the very complete sets of arithmetic books by Böhme, used all over Prussia. Böhme also exhibits some curious tin slides, to be used in infant schools instead of the ball frame.

A school at Ahrensberg sends a quantity of needlework, done by the scholars, of the highest excellence, and giving evidence of very sensible teaching—no fancy work, all of the plainest utility.

Diagrams for teaching the working of pumps, &c., and of the electric telegraph, may be seen on the walls.

III. SAXONY.

In a little temple in the park is a modest but very excellent exhibition of school-books and apparatus sent by Saxony, the cradle of German education ; for here in the 16th century were sown the seeds of that system of popular instruction which has since spread over Germany. In the centre is a model of the Gymnastic School of Dresden. On the counters and walls are to be found Lange's excellent atlas, (Leipsic,) giving a full account, physical and commercial, of Saxony ; Delitsch's elementary Atlas of the World, a marvel of cheapness, (six maps for 14d. ;) Lüben's Atlas of Botany, which they seem to teach carefully in the Saxon schools ; Schnorr's Bible woodcuts ; and much else worthy of attention.

IV. SWEDEN.

The Swedish Government has furnished the lower chamber of a most picturesque little wooden house so as to represent one of their small village schools. Since 1842 education has been obligatory in Sweden; the entire absence of dissent makes it possible for the government to work the schools through the ecclesiastical organisation of the country. Each parish is rated according to its requirements, as reported by the clergyman and approved by the inspector. If we may judge by what is here seen, the furniture is of an almost sumptuous kind. Each child has a small desk and seat to himself; the desk holds his books, &c.; the seat has a back. The teacher thus passes freely among all the children. In the larger schools of more thickly-peopled countries this would be of course impossible.

The maps of Scandinavia are perhaps the most striking school maps in the whole Exhibition. They are by Mentzer of Stockholm, (No. 11.) The stove is of earthenware, as in their houses, warming the air by conduction, not by radiation.

V. DENMARK.

From Denmark I find a very complete collection of scholars' work from the various primary schools of Copenhagen. The boys' drawing and writing-books are good, the girls' needlework admirable. In all the schools the English character of writing is taught as well as the German.

An excellent adult night-school, supported by voluntary subscriptions, for teaching drawing, also sends good results. In England a school for teaching drawing would hardly draw forth the charitable contributions of our gentlefolk.

VI. AUSTRIA.

The well-stored assortment of school apparatus sent by the Austrian Government is nearly all under glass, and difficult to examine.

The best globes of every size and price are from Austria. Steinhäuser's maps of physical geography, Frobel's "Kindergarten,"

Patek's apparatus for teaching arithmetic, from the St Anna School at Vienna, all deserve notice. I never saw in an English school the Vienna frame for teaching vulgar fractions. It is like a ball-frame; only in the wires, instead of balls, you have divisible reeds. The uppermost is undivided, and represents the integer. From those below, which are divided into fractional parts, and run on the wires, the child sees at once (for example) that three-fourths are equal to six-eighths, greater than two-thirds, less than four-fifths, &c.

In large portfolios are to be found specimens of drawings in every stage. Better methods of teaching drawing in connexion with ornamentation can hardly be conceived. In this respect the Austrian exhibition seems to me unrivalled. I may also mention very cheap telluriums and planetariums, from 30s. to £5, sold by Felkl, of Prague. By lighting the lamp and turning the handle, the whole theory of day and night, of the seasons, and of eclipses, is shown to the child at once. One of the cheaper sort might well be in every village school. All the Austrian school apparatus seems to be far cheaper than that of France or England.

VII. SPAIN.

In the upper room of an elaborately carved and turreted house in the park is to be found the Spanish school exhibition. Without an interpreter it is difficult to understand it. The eye is at once caught by a school-desk, long enough for five children, supported by five simple cast-iron standards. Instead of a bench, as in England, with all the attendant inconvenience of stepping over, there are five round seats, each seat resting on a continuation of the iron standard, like so many music-stools before a pianoforte. When the class is told to stand, each child stands at once *by the side of* his seat, and can leave or resume his place without difficulty. When used for needlework, cushions are attached to the desk, to which the girls may pin their work. Under No. 87 will be found a cheap box of geometrical solids of walnut-wood, the best, perhaps, in the exhibition.

Morenilla's method of teaching reading, (No. 73,) and Iturzaeta's writing copies (No. 91) appear to be good. Avendaño (No. 88) is

their great publisher of school-books at Madrid, and Bastinos, of Barcelona, (No. 33,) is a well-known house for all sorts of school apparatus. There is a society (or junta) of noble ladies at Madrid who maintain a normal school, and have founded numerous elementary schools, also represented, though inadequately, in this exhibition.*

VIII. ITALY.

The exhibition from Italy indicates a rapid and satisfactory progress in the last few years. The Minister of Instruction and Worship sends a very complete assortment, including a full account of their recent legislation in favour of education. Paravia, the great publisher at Turin, sends text-books of every sort; those of Lambruschini and of Carbonati are reported to be excellent. Perrin, of Turin, (No. 13,) sends copy-books as good as any in the Exhibition, to be had for half the cost of English copy-books. Luca, of Naples, (No. 38,) sends very good books on geography. All their older educational societies have been recently consolidated into the Italian Association for the Education of the People, which (under No. 21) exhibits good evidence of progress. The architectural and ornamental drawings from the schools of Naples, Venice, and Padua are most beautiful.

It is to be regretted that some other countries in which education has already made, and is now making, great progress, are so inadequately represented.

BELGIUM sends but little:—The school-books of Braun, (No. 2,) and Willequet, (No. 16,) Joly's Atlas, (No. 11,) and Callewaert's, (No. 3) should be noticed.

HOLLAND and SWITZERLAND, both nations honourably distinguished for what they have accomplished in the cause of popular education, send nothing.

CANADA sends excellent school-books (note especially the commercial copy-books) from the upper province, and school apparatus from the lower. There is also an interesting model of the village of St Anne, showing the great agricultural school and its system of

* It is a curious commentary on the very complete exhibition of Spanish school-apparatus, that, according to their census of 1860, 65 per cent. of their males, and 86 per cent. of their females were unable to read or write.

husbandry. The model was made by the teachers of the institution.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.—Nothing belonging to this class had arrived at the date of this report, May 14.

Such are my principal gleanings from my month's study of this portion of the Exhibition. But, in conclusion, I must record my strong impression, that any educational exhibition of this kind must be, from the nature of the case, unsatisfactory ; as a test of comparative progress it is clearly untrustworthy. Nations whose administration is highly centralised are sure to appear to advantage as compared to those which trust chiefly to voluntary effort ; and of the work done it is the *material*, *i.e.*, the least important results only, that can be properly represented. How, for instance, can a teacher's success as a disciplinarian be made to appear in such an exhibition ? Even of the mechanical appliances a trustworthy judgment can hardly be formed unless one has a practical teacher by one's side to answer the question, "How do they work ?" And of the real tools of a teacher, his school-books, it is of course impossible to make any profitable examination while standing before a glass case. Still Class 89 contains abundantly enough to interest an English schoolmaster, and the above report may perhaps help to direct him to what will best repay his attention.

THE END.





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